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"Mr. H. Dudley" companion to
Bishop Harper during a tour in 1864

See pp 116 - 117.



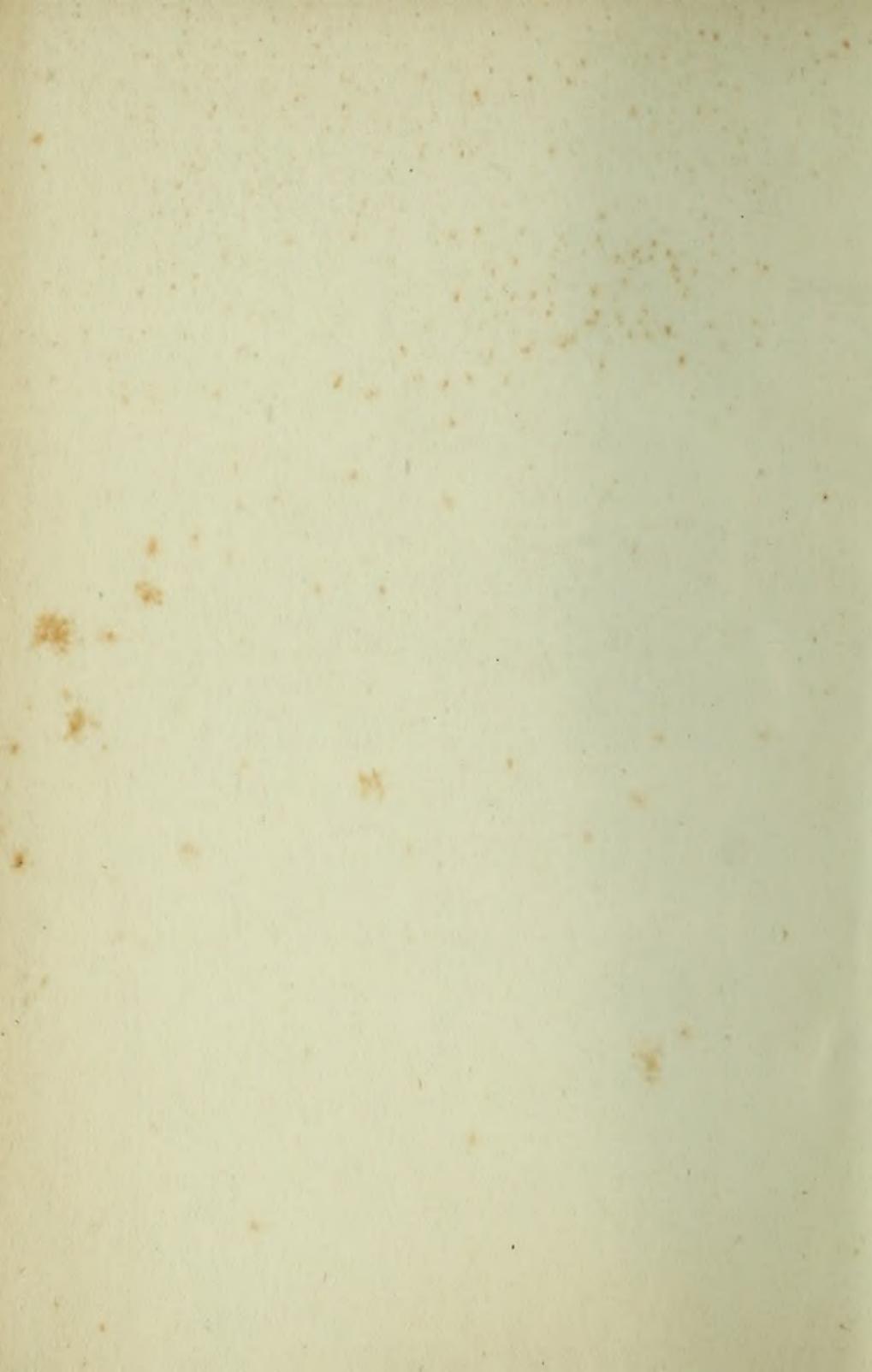


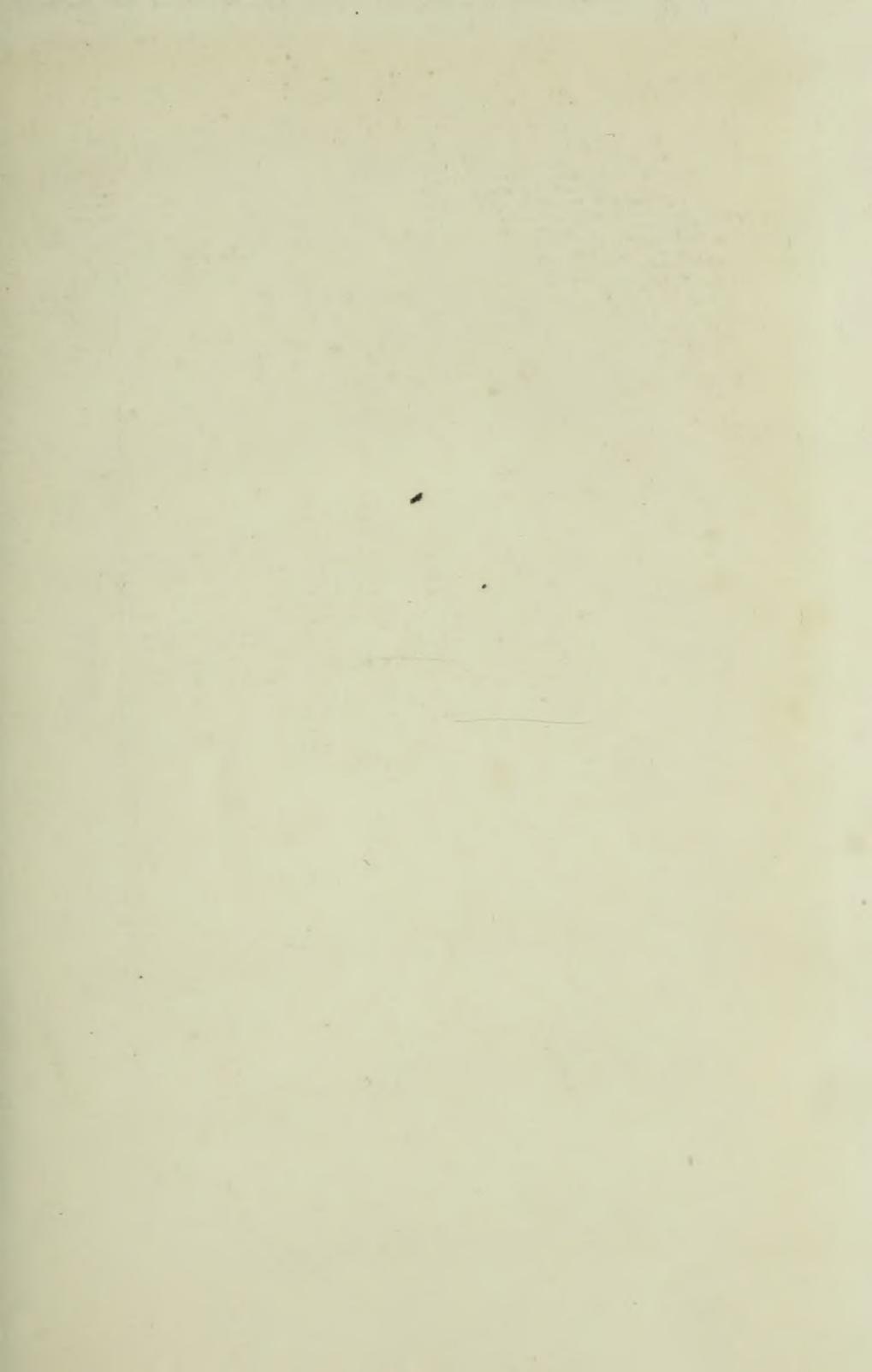
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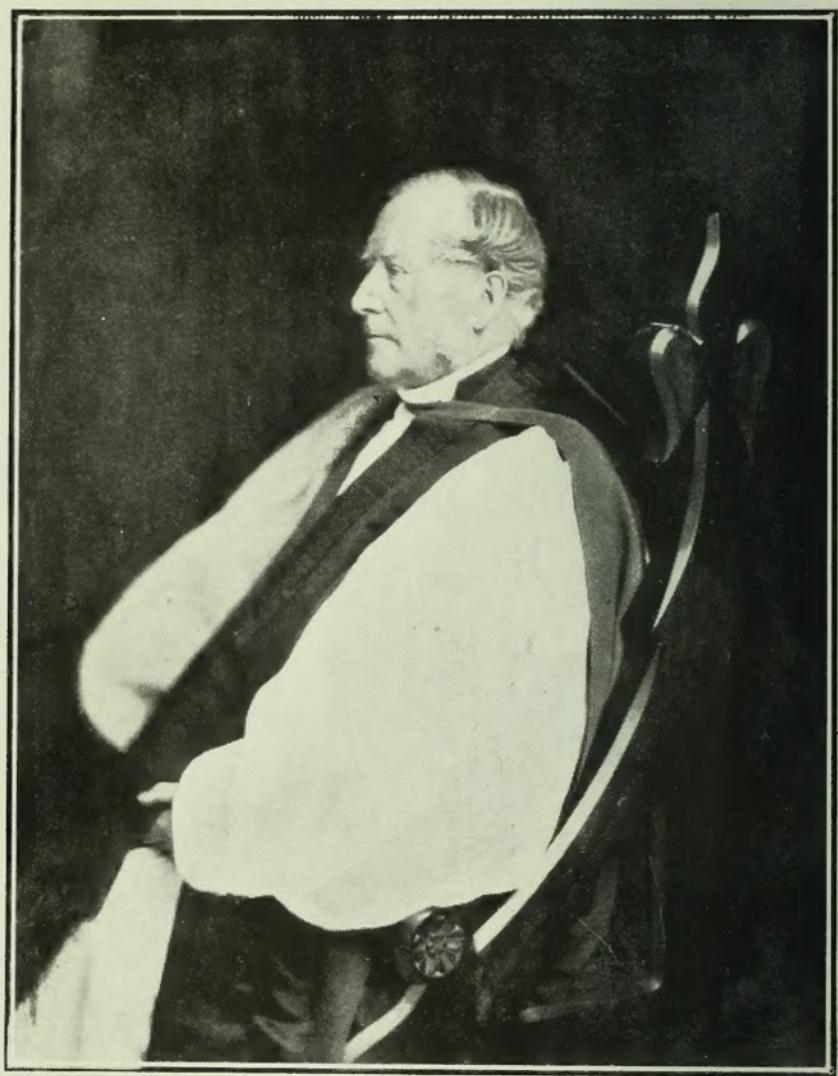
BISHOP HARPER

AND THE

CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT







Mr. Chapman.
H. C. Chapman

BISHOP HARPER AND THE CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT

BY

H. T. PURCHAS, M.A.,

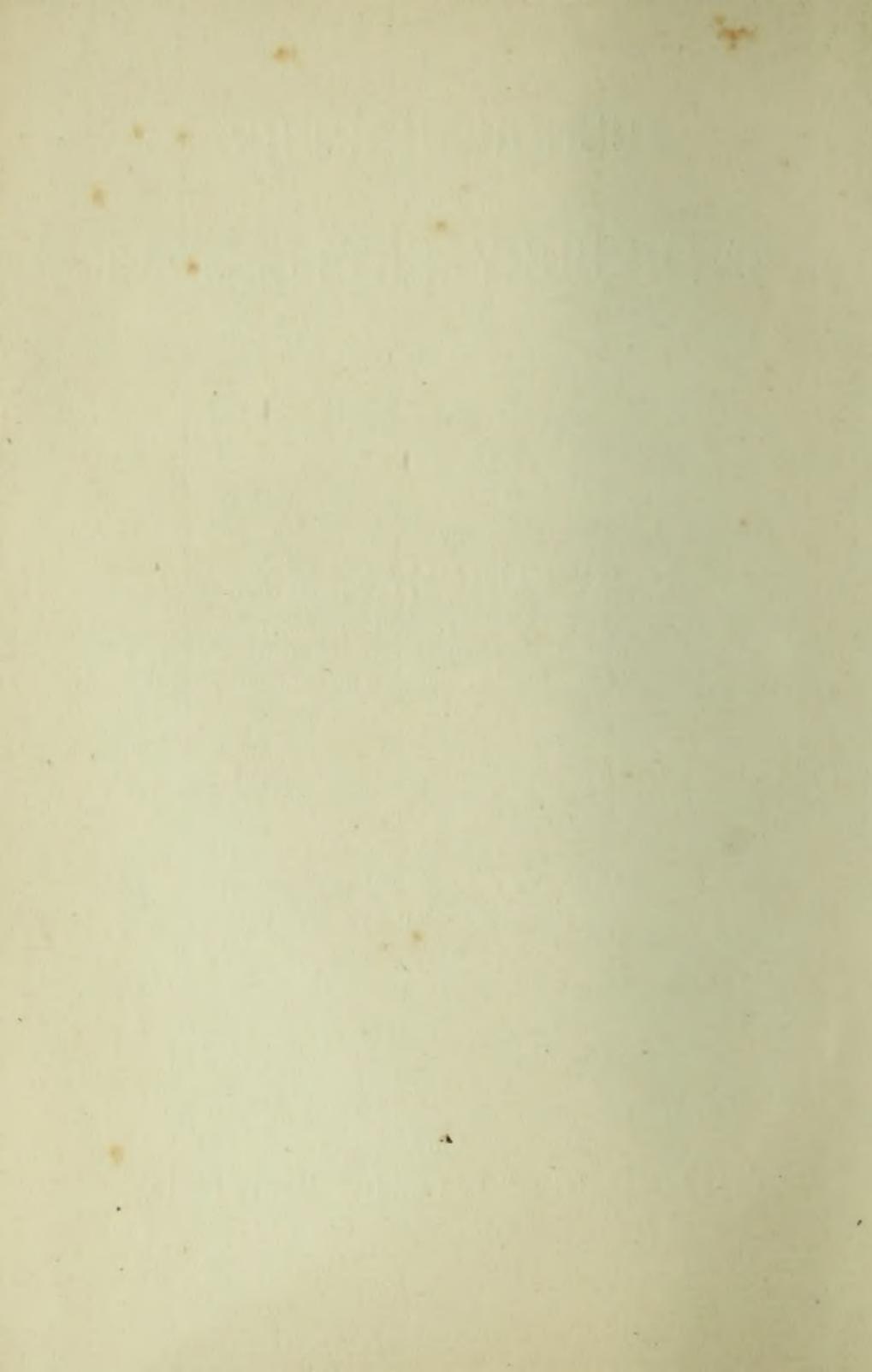
ASSISTANT CURATE OF ST. SAVIOUR'S, SYDENHAM ;
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF CHRISTCHURCH ;
AUTHOR OF "JOHANNINE PROBLEMS AND MODERN NEEDS."

*Let us now praise famous men,
And our fathers which begat us.*

CHRISTCHURCH, WELLINGTON AND DUNEDIN, N.Z. ;
MELBOURNE AND LONDON :

WHITCOMBE & TOMBS LIMITED.

1903.



TO THE RIGHT REVEREND
The Bishop of Christchurch
AND TO
MY BROTHER CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE
THIS ATTEMPT TO POURTRAY
THE LIFE AND WORK OF OUR FIRST BISHOP
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
OF GENEROUS HELP
TWO YEARS AGO.

PREFACE.

IN this book I have attempted to describe the life of a good man and the working of a unique experiment in colonisation. Perhaps it may go to show that the man succeeded where the colonising machinery failed.

Nearly ten years have elapsed since Bishop Harper's death, and the generation that knew him is dwindling fast. Life is quickly changing its outward aspect. Bishop Harper never saw a motor-car, he never used a telephone, and if he ever saw a lady on a bicycle the spectacle was still a novelty. The lapse of time has made it necessary to sift all the stories which have come down from the early days. Some have been repeated so often that they have acquired a kind of traditional status, and their disappearance will doubtless occasion some regret. But loyalty to truth makes it necessary to say that Bishop Harper did *not* knock down a navvy on the West Coast road, nor sleep in a pig-stye at Governor's Bay, nor do various other things with which he has been credited. An adventure with a Bishop as its hero is easily assigned to the wrong individual.

It is doubtless too much to expect that absolute accuracy has been attained, but I have done my best to attain it. I have not encumbered the pages with references; but the reader may be assured that every statement has good authority behind it.

For the Bishop's early life I am indebted chiefly to the Venerable Archdeacon Harper of Timaru, and to private papers in his possession. For the history of Canterbury I have consulted whatever literature was available. Of the contemporary publications, the *Canterbury Papers*,

PREFACE

the *Writings and Speeches of John Robert Godley (1863)*, and the early files of the *Lyttelton Times*, have been found most useful. The Jubilee of the province in 1900 brought to light many reminiscences. The most valuable of these are contained in the special number of the *Weekly Press*, and in the volume entitled *Canterbury Old and New*. The contributions of Messrs. W. Pratt and E. W. Seager have been specially helpful.

Even with the most diligent research, however, the book could never have been what it is without the kind criticisms of those who have personal knowledge of the events it records. Chapter VII. has been revised by Sir John Hall. In Chapter IX. that portion which deals with Primary Education, owes much to the Hon. W. Montgomery and the Hon. C. C. Bowen; that which concerns Christ's College has been read by W. G. Brittan, Esq., the present Bursar. The Chapters which are concerned with Diocesan matters have been revised by the Rev. Canon Knowles, Registrar of the Diocese. The public will know how to appreciate the guarantee thus afforded, though I must take the whole responsibility for the final outcome.

Friends to whom the MS. of the work was shown were fairly unanimous in the opinion that in Chapter V. too many extracts had been given from the Bishop's notes of travel. After repeated consideration I have determined not to omit or even materially to abridge these extracts. Of course they are meagre and were jotted down with no thought of publication, but to me they are eloquent in their very simplicity. Behind them I seem to see the broad tussock plain or the dripping bush, I hear the rattle of the shingle in the wide river-bed, or the howling of the Nor-Wester through the gorge. If future generations should ever read the book they will perhaps find these portions to be of permanent interest.

PREFACE

Among the members of the Bishop's family who have given their aid I must give special mention to Mrs. Acland, Mrs. Maling, and Mrs. Cox, and above all to Miss Maling whose help has been invaluable. In the final revision I have been indebted to the Rev. S. Hamilton, B.A., Vicar of Geraldine, and to the Rev. C. W. Carrington, M.A., Principal of the Upper Department of Christ's College, who has kindly read all the proofs.

The labour has been considerable, but it has been a labour of love, and was rendered possible by the comparative leisure of a Cathedral preachership. If it succeeds in reviving among us the memory of a great and good man, and the high ideals of the founders of our settlement, my object will have been abundantly attained.

H. T. P.

SYDENHAM,

August 6th, 1903.

ERRATA.

page 78, line 16 from top—after “*and*” insert “*in*.”

p. 124, line 17 , , for “*its*” read “*it*.”

p. 141, line 14 , , delete first “*of*.”

p. 182, line 19 , , for “*Hon. W. Reeves*” read “*Hon. W. P. Reeves*.”

p. 199, line 5 from bottom—for “*1893*” read “*1873*.”

p. 207, line 16 from top—for “*unamimity*” read “*unanimity*.”

p. 212, line 19 , , for “*jubilee*” read “*jubilee*.”

p. 226, line 7 , , for “*bitter*” read “*better*.”

p. 236, line 8 , , for “*adequate*” read “*inadequate*.”

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE AND ENGLISH MINISTRY.

“Send forth the best ye breed.”

—*Kipling.*

HENRY JOHN CHITTY HARPER was born at Gosport on January 9th, 1804. His father, Tristram Harper, was a physician, and belonged to one of the younger branches of a Worcestershire family, which had originally owned the Norland Estate near Hartlebury, and was connected by marriage with the Stracheys of Sutton Court, in the county of Somerset. From his ancestors he inherited a magnificent constitution, which was to stand him in good stead during his colonial experiences, and a tradition of large families which was to be handed on by him unimpaired. He himself was the fifth child in a family of nine ; his father was the fourth in one of thirteen ; and his grandfather, Edmund Harper (also a physician), was one of a family of fourteen children.

Living in Hampshire, it was natural that he should be sent to Winchester for his education. Not to the great school there, however, but to a small (though ancient) foundation in the neighbourhood, called Hyde Abbey School. Thence in due course he proceeded to Oxford, and became an undergraduate of Queen's College. He took his B.A. in 1826, with a

Third Class *in litteris humanioribus*. His residence at the University fell within the period just preceding the Tractarian movement. None of the *Tracts* had yet been written, nor had even the *Christian Year* been published, when he left. Of the future leaders of the movement, Pusey was in Germany, and Keble in the country; Newman only was in Oxford, and Newman during those years was passing through his short-lived phase of liberalism. The influence of all three (especially of Newman) undoubtedly told strongly upon Mr Harper, as it did upon nearly all his contemporaries, but not in any very definite way till a few years later.

After taking his degree, he spent more than a year in Ireland as tutor to the sons of Sir Charles Coote, and when, in 1828, his charges were ready for school life, he accompanied them to Eton, and still acted as their private tutor. The work here was thoroughly congenial to him, for he loved teaching and was always happy with the young. In the following year he married Emily Wooldridge, the daughter of Charles Wooldridge, a solicitor of the city of Winchester, who also held the registrarship of the diocese—an office which has remained in the Wooldridge family for several generations. The marriage was solemnised in the parish church of St. Maurice, Winchester, on December 12th, 1829. In the following year the domestic happiness of the Eton home was further increased by the arrival of a child, the forerunner

of numerous others. In fact, no less than fifteen children were born to the future bishop—nine sons and six daughters.

In 1831 a larger sphere of work was opened. He was offered one of the two Conductships of Eton College, and was accordingly ordained deacon on April 10th, when he was already twenty-seven years of age. Bishop Bloomfield's legislation was yet in the future, and Eton still belonged to the enormous diocese of Lincoln. Mr Harper, however, had not to go to his cathedral city—no small journey in those pre-railroad days—but was ordained, at the request of his diocesan, by Bishop Murray of Rochester, in "the chapel within the palace at Bromley" in Kent. When in the next year he proceeded to priest's orders, the ordination was held by Bishop Kaye himself, in the parish church of Buckden, in the county of Huntingdon, (June 17th, 1832). His work as Conduct or Chaplain to the College involved no more than the reading of the prayers in the chapel, but into this duty he threw such fervour and earnestness that the services acquired a reality which was a new thing at that time, and was remembered for half a century afterwards.

Important and effective, however, as was his public ministry among the boys, it was far from constituting the whole of his new duties. For with the Conductship he held the curacy of Eton itself, and was thus brought into daily contact with the poor of the town. This pastoral work he carried on with that quiet and sustained

enthusiasm which marked his character in a pre-eminent degree. His ideal of such work is well expressed in one of the devotional "exercises" which he sometimes entered in a private diary. Some extracts must be given from this book, because they give a glimpse into the working of his inner life—a life which his habitual reserve never allowed him to reveal in public, but which was *felt* by all who came into contact with him throughout his long and consistent ministry. The following entry is connected with the mortal illness of one of his poorer, and apparently less satisfactory, parishioners.

"How awful are the duties of the parish priest, who is set to watch for the souls of men as one, too, who shall give account to Him who weigheth the spirits, and who has noted down in His book of remembrance all neglects of duty, all misperformances of duty arising from want of due preparation, or from wilful ignorance, all self-seeking and self-dependence in the execution of duty, all undue exercise of authority, and all remissness in the exercise of authority. I am this day come from a woman who to all appearance is dying. During her illness I have visited her with very tolerable regularity, and have endeavoured to direct her to Him whose name alone bringeth salvation. If I have failed in my object, can I say that the fault does not lie at my door? Have I not reason to condemn myself for coldness and stiffness in my visits? for hastiness and obscureness in my manner of instruction? for impatience towards her because she did not feel or express herself exactly in the way in which I judged that she ought to feel and to express herself? Have I not neglected to prepare for her such fitting instruction as might be to her, a babe, milk nourishing and strengthening her in her efforts to live after God? Have I not often imparted her that instruction which suggested itself at the moment? and lastly, have not I neglected

prayer with her and for her and for myself—‘for myself’ that I might teach aright, and that my word might be with power, ‘for her,’ that she might hear with faith and be saved by the word, ‘with her,’ that a blessing might be upon her endeavours to learn and mine to teach? O Gracious Lord! if I, blind and ignorant as I am, can see in my ministry with one individual sinner so much to condemn, so much that needs forgiveness, what a mass of error, folly, neglect, presumptuous self-sufficiency, self-dependence, uncharitableness, must have met Thy searching eye! O deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O Lord. Let not this woman perish through any fault of me, O God. Lay not her sins to my charge, but blot them all out for Thy mercies’ sake, blot out mine also, and save me together with her, through Jesus Christ our Lord—both hers and mine. Amen.

From one so earnest in his work, and so thoroughly penetrated with a conviction of its exacting and lofty nature, influence could not fail to flow. Bishop Abraham, who was himself a boy at Eton when Mr Harper first came there, and who afterwards as a master played a conspicuous part in the moral improvement of the school, wrote thus after his friend’s death :—

“No one connected with Eton in those days, whether young or old, could forget the change that that young man soon brought about in the college chapel, and the parish, by his quiet unostentatious reverence in church and his assiduous labours in the town. His colleagues, the masters, the boys, and the parishioners, felt the difference, without knowing who had effected it. It so happened that about the same time a remarkable galaxy of private tutors lighted up the Eton world, and such men as William and George Selwyn, Charles Dalton, John Hodgson, George Langshaw and Richard Durnford (afterwards Bishop of Chichester), were making men and boys the better by their lives, and all of them watching and learning from the simple, quiet, parish priest how they themselves might one day work for the Church of Christ.”

One of the brilliant band of tutors mentioned by Bishop Abraham was to be brought into specially close connection with that quiet parish priest. George Augustus Selwyn was five years younger than Henry Harper, and did not come to Eton till 1831, a few months after the latter's ordination to the diaconate. By force of character he was soon the acknowledged leader among this gifted brotherhood. He established, for instance, a swimming club, the stricter members of which bathed in the Thames every day throughout the year ; and, in order to put down long speeches, held all their meetings *in the water*. Mr Harper was one of these "Psychrolutes," and followed his friend in all his aquatic achievements. But the quiet influence of the older man was felt deeply by the more brilliant spirit of Selwyn, and, guided by that influence, he, too, sought ordination, and took up a curacy in the neighbourhood. How different would have been the history of the Church in New Zealand had that influence been wanting, or had it been otherwise directed.

Mr Harper's tenure of the Eton chaplaincy lasted for nine years, and was unmarked by any more remarkable outward events than the births of his first eight children. But inward growth there must have been. Great events were happening in the political and in the religious worlds. His eminently conservative temper led him to share the fears so loudly expressed by his Oxford teachers at the rapid progress of political and ecclesiastical reform. Even the

accession of Queen Victoria was the occasion for alarm as to the injury which her liberal counsellors might inflict upon the Church with her sanction. The Oxford doctrinal teaching also made some impression upon his mind, though his deeply-rooted piety prevented him from ever accepting any new opinion simply on the ground of its adoption by other and more learned men. Most instructive in this respect is his change of belief on the question of baptism. The baptismal controversy was *the* controversy of the first half of the nineteenth century, and an entry in the private book (dated November 5th 1837), affords valuable insight into his thought—all the more precious as his nature was usually averse from speculation and his religion too deep for change. If all controversy were approached in the temper shown in the following extract, controversy would soon lose its evil reputation.

"During the last fortnight my views have undergone a considerable change, or rather, modification, and this chiefly with regard to baptismal regeneration. Hitherto I have felt great repugnance to admit this doctrine. I could not bring myself to believe that it was the doctrine of Scripture, at least, not so clearly laid down as to warrant one's asserting it as absolutely proved. I admitted that there were many striking passages which might be alleged in support of it, but I explained these as applicable to the times only in which they were uttered, considering them as addressed to those who had been baptised in riper years—in fact, as far as I can judge, it was my secret wish to make out from Scripture and the writings of the Fathers and other theologians that the new birth does not necessarily take place at the time of baptism, and that no one could justly be considered as born again until he was bringing forth in his life

the fruits of the Spirit. These, I think, were my views and wishes. But, now I must confess that, not only my views are changed and opinions of an opposite description forced upon my mind, but what to me is more extraordinary, my wish is changed also. The arguments which prevail with me now are the same as those which I heard before and heard in unbelief; these now find a ready acceptance with me, and seem to come home to me in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. I am, in short, anxious to find that my former opinions were erroneous, and to prove more and more that every baptised person—baptised in his infancy (when, as far as we can see, no obstacle would be presented by him to the receipt of grace) is regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and made really and spiritually God's child by adoption, a member of Christ, and inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. Is it presumption to think that this change of view is from above? I have indeed prayed for direction on the subject, but how weak, how cold, how careless have my prayers been, how wholly undeserving a gracious answer. Oh, if I am in error, may God in His mercy guide me into truth, that I may not deceive myself or those committed to my care. Lord, that which I know not that teach Thou me. Lord, open Thou mine eyes that I may see the wondrous things of Thy law, and if it is Thy good pleasure that I should still be and remain in error on this point, convert my error into good, make it an instrument of increasing in me true piety and virtue, to the honour and glory of Thy Holy Name through Jesus Christ my Lord."

Approached from one side, viz : that of the old evangelical belief, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration unquestionably affords a wider and more hopeful view of human life. There are clear signs in Mr Harper's case that the change was to some extent due to his experience of life, both in his own family and in the parish. This broadened outlook undoubtedly helped him in his pioneering work in New Zealand. But it was far from inducing any relaxation of spiritual



Sketch by Mrs. Acland.

Etching by Miss Malling.

MORTIMER CHURCH.

effort in his own personal life. He had already (1836) given up his pupils and concentrated all his energies upon his pastoral work, enlarging its scope by the provision of additional services in the chapel-of-ease attached to the parish church. In his inner life, too, the daily "exercises" enable us to trace a more determined self-discipline, especially in the direction of a more searching examination of motive and more prolonged meditation upon the darker side of his religious experience. "The Wednesday self-mortification I will endeavour to associate with reflection on the 'iniquities of my holy things,' the Friday shall be chiefly devoted to the general consideration of my past and still besetting sins."

Much more might be adduced to prove the intensity of his religious life during this period; but, considering the manly reserve which was ever one of Bishop Harper's chief characteristics, the passages already quoted should be sufficient. One special theme of his meditations, however, deserves special notice. It is the fear of intellectualism. Living in an epoch of change, and surrounded with intellectual companions, he yet recurs again and again to this little recognised danger. "It is a great question whether intellectual pursuits, if carried to a great extent, are not as detrimental to the maintaining of a spiritual frame of mind as sensual indulgences." "Human knowledge is the help and handmaid of religion; but human knowledge without religion is worse than useless. It is

dangerous. Religion without knowledge is still valuable ; it is the pearl of great price torn from its setting." "The very cultivation of the mind, if it proceed from selfish motives, however good and beneficial in its consequences, far from being a good work, may actually partake of the nature of sin—I could almost say as much as adultery or gluttony." "The philosopher in his study, even when employed on the sublimest sciences—and the most beneficial in their tendency to the welfare of man—may be as far from God as the drunkard in his hall of feasting and revelry."

When the time came—as it did in 1840—for their chaplain's removal to an independent sphere of labour, both town and school poured forth warm expressions of gratitude and goodwill. He was presented with various pieces of massive silver plate by the parishioners, the masters, the oppidans, and the collegers, and also with an address in which they all united.

"We cannot forget" (runs one of its paragraphs) "that during your conductship the wish of some of the parishioners has been gratified by the establishment of an evening service. The consequent increase of your congregation having rendered the enlargement of the chapel necessary, this want was quickly satisfied by the noble liberality of the college. Thus, under these happy circumstances, many a wanderer has been recalled into the paths of salvation—the weak in faith have been strengthened—the lukewarm roused from their perilous slumbers."

Perhaps, however, the strongest testimony came in a private letter from one of the fellows of the college, the Rev. G. Plumptre, a man of a bluff and unconventional nature. " My dear Harper,—Salt is good : you have been the salt of this place."

THE parish of Stratfield Mortimer, to which he was presented by the college, covered a large and fairly populous district in Berkshire, on the high land between Reading and Basingstoke. Much of it was open common-land, given up to gorse and heather, while the west end contained its own attractions for young people in the shape of large fir plantations. The village of Mortimer itself was within eight miles of a railway, but the Harper family made the whole journey thither (30 miles) through the snow, in a large coach, the luggage following in waggons. The house was well suited for a numerous family, being large and surrounded by an ample acreage of glebe and garden. The former vicar, who had held the living for forty years, had planted the garden with choice rhododendrons and azaleas, and had erected extensive stabling. Such an establishment was an expensive one to maintain, and together with a growing family of eight children, rendered the income of £173 far from sufficient. The vicar therefore resolved to take in pupils, which his Eton connection

enabled him to obtain easily. He usually had twelve young boys in the house whom he prepared for school. Most of these were sons of nobility or wealthy gentry—among them being a future Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach),—and their fees enabled the vicar to keep a curate and to develop church work in many directions.

This, indeed, was highly necessary, for the former incumbent had given so much attention to garden and stables that he had little left for the parish. Mr Harper immediately instituted a monthly communion, and a service on Saints' Days at 11 a.m. He soon took in hand the restoration of the church which, though large, was a poor structure, and has since been entirely swept away. The process followed the course usual at that period. The chancel had been almost cut off from the nave by a rood-loft, which was occupied by a faculty pew belonging to Wokefield Park. Another gallery at the west end (which, like the rood-loft, had its own staircase from outside) was tenanted by the choir and a brass band. By the exercise of tact and patience, the vicar removed the musicians from the gallery, and persuaded the Park family to take it in exchange for their own pew. He then cleared away the rood-loft altogether, leaving only the open screen, and proceeded to restore the chancel—largely at his own expense. The walls were cleansed, the floor laid with Minton tiles, and open stalls substituted for the high pews which the vicar's family used. But

how about the dispossessed musicians? In their department a radical alteration was made. The cornets and trombones were abolished, and the instrumental accessories reduced to an organ, which, by the mere turning of a barrel, produced mechanically a certain number of simple tunes. This strange instrument was set up in one of the side galleries, and on either side of it was ranged a choir of children trained by a Reading singing-master. On one side the organ were twelve boys in surplices, on the other twelve girls in blue tippets and white mob caps. The leader of the old band, being the most vigorous personage, was given the post of "organist," the rest of the members were merged in the general congregation.

The church was large for a country parish, and held 600 people. But it was not too large in Mr Harper's time. Though the whole population of the parish was but 1700, and many of these lived at a considerable distance, yet the congregations were equal to the capacity of the building. There were many country gentlemen at Mortimer, men of the old stamp, who lived on their estates nearly all the year, and found their recreation in fox-hunting and other field sports. These all came to church on Sunday morning, waiting outside the lych-gate to salute the vicar as he came from his morning Sunday school. The farmers, too, who were still holding the land which their ancestors had tilled for generations, never failed to attend this morning service. Evening Prayer began at

3 o'clock, and then appeared all the labourers and the servants. Once a month the vicar catechised at this service; on the other Sundays he delivered a plain sermon. Public worship was now over for the day. Mr Harper never held an early celebration of Holy Communion, nor a late evening service. In fact, he had never been present at any such services when he left Mortimer. He organised district visiting throughout the parish, and procured the erection of a pretty little chapel-of-ease at a distance of two and a half miles from the mother church. He also instituted a coal-club, but otherwise his work was conducted on quiet simple lines, with an entire absence of fuss and elaborate machinery. But it was effective. He won the respect and love of all classes. Bishop Wilberforce, who often stayed at Wokefield Park, considered the vicar of Mortimer to be one of his best parish priests.

Much of his most lasting work was done within his own house. During the sixteen years of his parochial life his family grew from eight to fifteen, and these, with pupils and servants, formed a numerous household. On Sunday evenings children and pupils were gathered together to listen to the reading of some book of church history or missionary enterprise, the servants were then summoned and a short service closed the day. These readings were thoroughly appreciated by most of the youthful auditors, as were also those from secular literature—history, travels or fiction—

with which their games were varied on two evenings in the week. The young people never went out in the evenings, but enjoyed a healthy home life which was saved from monotony by its busy occupations and varied interests. The elements which then made up the life of the country-side are now changed, but in Mr Harper's time they remained (except for the intrusion of a railway) in all their old-fashioned simplicity. If not fast and sparkling, at least the stream ran deep.

Mortimer was not altogether cut off, however, from the outside world. Once or twice a year the aged Duke of Wellington would ride over from his house at Strathfieldsaye and pay his formal call at the vicarage, the groom coming forward and delivering a card, "With the Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington's compliments." Sometimes there would be visits from Eton friends; and in 1854 George Selwyn himself appeared, fresh from New Zealand, where he had been working as its only bishop since 1841. He had important news to communicate. His diocese was about to be divided, and a bishop was required for the southern part of the colony. Would his old friend undertake the office? The vicar of Mortimer was one of the least ambitious of men, and had already declined the living of Isleworth offered him by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. But duty was ever his watchword, and this was a call not to be disobeyed, especially when made by Selwyn. It appeared, however, that the Bishop

of New Zealand had not full power to make the offer, and that much had yet to be put in order before an appointment could be really made. The vicar might have been ready to go out trusting in his friend's bare word, but Mrs Harper as a prudent mother could hardly agree to convey a family of fifteen to the antipodes without any guarantee of welcome, or stipend, or place of residence. If the bishop would visit Christchurch lay her husband's name before the church there, and secure an invitation in due form—then they would go. With such reasonable conditions the bishop was bound to comply, but they involved a considerable period of suspense. His English visit was unexpectedly prolonged, and when he returned to Auckland his attention was taken up for some months with native troubles. The year 1856 had arrived and was well on its way before the expected answer came. That answer was completely satisfactory, but to understand its tenour, and the task to which it called the vicar of Mortimer, we must endeavour to form a definite idea of the previous history of the new diocese.

CHAPTER II.

THE CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT.

“They came to no infertile waste,
They came not to a cruel land,
To wrest its fruits in troubled haste,
With careworn brow and weaponed hand ;
The land of hope lay crude and bare
But only welcoming gifts were there.”

—*M. Colborne-Veel.*

THE first half of the nineteenth century closed amidst general distress. The year 1848 was notable for the revolutionary movement which drove Louis Philippe from Paris and caused serious disturbances in other European capitals. In the same year the Chartist outbreak gave Englishmen a shock from which they were slow to recover. Below and behind these ebullitions of violence lay a great mass of misery and discontent. Bad harvests and the potato disease brought keen agricultural distress, which was rendered still more acute (as many thought) by the recent abolition of the corn laws. Amidst conditions so depressing, no wonder that many in England and on the Continent looked to the new worlds in the west and south with a sense of longing and hope. There, in new countries, might be found the opportunities of a brighter, simpler, and less anxious existence. Emigration proceeded accordingly at a rapid rate. Colonial questions came to the

front even in a parliament which was inclined to regard the colonies as an encumbrance. During the year 1850 several of the Australian colonies acquired constitutional rights and entered upon the era of self-government.

New Zealand had attracted some settlers since its annexation in 1840, but it was still a Crown colony and largely in the hands of European financial corporations. Chief among these was the New Zealand Company. Its presiding genius was the celebrated Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had shown a statesmanlike grasp of the principles of colonization and whose outlook extended beyond the mere raising of dividends. But his company had become discredited through the blundering of its local agents in their dealing with the Maoris, and was heavily in debt to the British Government. Wakefield was seeking in every direction for fresh resources when in 1847 he met, at Malvern, a young Irishman of high character and great ability—John Robert Godley. Educated at Oxford in the midst of the Tractarian revival, and bound by ties of friendship to Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Gladstone, and other enthusiastic churchmen, Godley had also travelled in America, where he had been struck by the contrast between the lawless backwoods settlements of the United States and the peaceful villages of Lower Canada, where religion was an established force. His idealistic nature took fire at the suggestions of Wakefield, and the two men soon framed a scheme for founding

a Church settlement in New Zealand. Wakefield was to obtain from his company a block of land in some part of their territories ; Godley was to secure the co-operation of the leading churchmen with whom he had been intimate at Oxford. By laying out a settlement upon distinctively, and even exclusively, Church lines, they would be able to appeal to the higher ranks of English society and to secure for their new colony a high type of settler and an exceptionally stable framework of society.

Mr. Godley threw himself heart and soul into the project (the chief feature of which was really his) and soon enlisted the support of an influential body of prelates, noblemen, and gentry. The Primate of All England became President of the Association, and the new settlement itself was to receive the name of Canterbury. When, in the following year, the revolutionary thunder-cloud burst over Europe, the promoters were able to put forth a scheme which showed bright indeed against this dark background. "Extraordinary changes are taking place," so ran their first appeal, "in the political and social system of Europe ; the future is dark and troubled ; men's hearts are failing them for fear ; and many persons who have been deterred hitherto by dread of change from entering upon the new career afforded by colonisation, will now probably be impelled into it by the same motive acting in a different direction." In the New Canterbury the colonists "would enjoy a quiet and happy life in a fine climate and a beautiful country,

where want is unknown, and listen from afar, with interest indeed, but without anxiety, to the din of war, to the tumult of revolutions, to the clamour of pauperism, to the struggle of classes, which wear out body and soul in our crowded and feverish Europe."

In this same year (1848) the Association was able to send out an expert (Captain Thomas) to choose a site and to survey it. According to his instructions he was to aim at a million acres of land in the Wairarapa district of the Wellington province, but he was fortunately entrusted with discretionary power to select a better site if such should present itself. In the next year Captain Thomas reported that he had found an admirable tract of country in the South Island, and he was soon able to forward a map of the New Canterbury, in which hardly a Maori word appeared, but all the rivers, lakes, and plains bore names of the prominent members of the Association. Looking at this map a would-be emigrant could hardly realise that it was a foreign land with which he had to do, for the Wilberforce, the Sumner, and the Whately Plains were watered by such rivers as the Ashley, the Courtenay, the Heathcote, the Hawkins, the Selwyn, the Cholmondeley, and the Ashburton.¹ A most

¹ It is noteworthy that the two largest of these rivers, viz.: the Courtenay and the Cholmondeley, soon threw off their English names, and are now always known as the Waimakariri and the Rakaia. The "Shakespeare" river of Captain Thomas's map had already received from the Dean brothers the name "Avon." This it fortunately retained, but it was always associated in the minds of the Pilgrims with Shakespeare's Avon, and not with the Scotch stream after which it was named.

favourable report was received from the one Scotch family (that of the Messrs. Deans) which had already found its way to what are now the Canterbury Plains, and everything seemed to promise well for the new colony.

Its promoters were, indeed, signally favoured in their selection. The wonder is that the ground had remained unoccupied so long. It was the most open for settlement of all the territories of New Zealand. There was very little heavy timber to be cleared, and the natives—decimated by the raids of the terrible Rau-paraha—were in no position to dispute the white man's claim. The only explanation that can be offered to account for its long neglect is that its advantages were hardly apparent at a distance. Viewed from the sea the plains are as nothing in comparison with the rugged Alps which tower behind them, and the actual coast-line consists of barren sand-hills or desolate shingle beaches. The few harbours cluster about Banks' Peninsula, and are shut off from the plains by steep and, in most cases, heavily-timbered hills. Even so, however, Canterbury had come very near becoming first a settlement of French Roman Catholics; then one of an undenominational English character; and then one of Scotch Presbyterians. As early as 1840 a French company had actually sent out a ship-load of emigrants to the beautiful harbour of Akaroa, but the attempt of their Government to annex the island had been anticipated by the energy

of Governor Hobson, by whose orders Captain Stanley in the *Britomart* forestalled the French expedition by four days, so that the French settlers on their arrival found the Union Jack flying over the territory which they had bought from the Maoris. The immigrants indeed stayed at Akaroa, and were happy under British rule, but they received no accessions to their numbers from the home country, and they seem never to have attempted to cross the bush-covered hills and take up land upon the plains. In 1841 the officials of the New Zealand Company were on the point of despatching an expedition to the land thus secured for the British Crown, but Governor Hobson insisted that it must proceed no further than the north end of the island; the result being the foundation of the town of Nelson. Still, therefore, the plains lay waiting for settlers, when, in 1847, a surveyor was sent from home to select a piece of country for a Scotch settlement of Free Church Presbyterians. This gentleman landed at Port Cooper, and actually climbed the hills which the Canterbury Pilgrims were soon to know so well, but decided that these hills formed an insuperable obstacle to a settlement on the other side. Even then he made one more attempt. Coasting round the Peninsula, and arriving at the point where the hills sink down to the Ninety-mile Beach, he walked across the Kaituna district to his compatriot's solitary house at Riccarton. But his path, though leading through level country, was even

less easy than before. Lake Ellesmere had not made one of its periodical bursts through its shingle barrier to the ocean for some time previous, and the whole of the country about it was water-logged and hardly passable. The surveyor gave up the plains in despair, and going further south, he selected and prepared Otago for the Scotchmen who soon arrived.

His report was nearly fatal to the Anglican colony also, for Bishop Selwyn, influenced by it, endeavoured to dissuade Mr. Godley and his friends from choosing a spot which had been so decidedly condemned. Fortunately, however, Captain Thomas visited the plains himself, and at once saw their value. Thus it was that a habitation was provided for the Canterbury settlers. It was larger than they themselves had contemplated; their estimate of one million acres at once rose to two and a half millions, and even this figure was afterwards found to admit of considerable expansion.

Captain Thomas, assisted by two other surveyors, at once proceeded to lay out two port towns—to be called Lyttelton and Sumner; and also a city farther inland, which was to receive the name of Christchurch, after the famous college to which Godley and many of the leaders of the Association belonged. In the laying out of these towns Captain Thomas named the streets after English dioceses. Beginning with Lyttelton, he availed himself of many of the principal sees—London, Winchester, Norwich, Oxford, etc., others he used

for the streets of Sumner (a town which was soon abandoned) ; so that when he came to his city on the plains he had not many English names left, and consequently fell back upon bishoprics in Ireland and the colonies. The result has been a more cosmopolitan or imperial selection in this, the principal city of the new colony, than was at first contemplated.

There was certainly nothing which could well be called imperial (in the modern sense) about the plans of the promoters at home. The new Canterbury was to be as genuine a reproduction as possible of the old country. An English county, with its cathedral city and its famous university ; its bishop, its parishes, its endowed clergy ; its ancient aristocracy, its yeoman farmers, its few necessary tradesmen, its sturdy and loyal labourers ; and all this with no crime, no poverty, and no dissent—this was the ideal which their imaginations pictured. It was to be a veritable *New Atlantis*, or, rather, a City of God. The means whereby this great end was to be achieved were comparatively simple. No one but a member of the Church of England was to be allowed to own land ; no one but an owner of land was to be allowed to take up a sheep-run ; no labourers were to be brought out at the general expense except such as were recommended by their parish priests as sound in faith and morals. Every land purchaser must pay £3 per acre for his land, and one-third of this was to be applied to “ecclesiastical and educational purposes.” As there were a

million acres for sale, a million pounds would thus be raised for the endowment of a bishopric and several parishes, for the building of churches and parsonages, for the erection and equipment of a university, and for an ample supply of schools and schoolmasters. The sharp wit of Sydney Smith found much to satirise in this seemingly enormous provision for the wants of a small colonial community; even Bishop Selwyn could not forbear a little good-natured fun; but the high-minded promoters were thoroughly in earnest, and could see nothing to laugh at in such a distribution of their anticipated wealth.

It is, indeed, hard not to indulge in a smile when we come across such a passage as this in their printed papers:—"Why should we not erect there a Cathedral which may be a glorious rival of Westminster or of York? Why not send out a bishop endowed with the learning of Pearson or of Bull—with the piety of the sainted Wilson—with the gentleness of the accomplished Heber? Why not found a university which may be no mean rival of the scholastic honours of Eton and of Oxford?"

But the promoters did their best to carry out even these brilliant anticipations. For their bishop they secured the nomination of an enthusiast in the cause of education, the Rev. Thos. Jackson, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and head of the Battersea Training College for Teachers. This gentleman made eloquent speeches at the public meetings which were

held throughout England for the purpose of making known the objects of the Association and the advantages of the new colony. He sketched the outline of a college which should serve as a centre of learning, not only for the settlement itself, but also for Australia and even for India and the East. He projected another college (at Lyttelton) for the daughters of colonists, after the pattern of Queen's College which had been lately established in London; and many of his best students volunteered to accompany him in order to take charge of the national schools which he intended to establish in every parish of the new settlement. In full reliance upon the promises of an ample maintenance for the clergy of Canterbury itself, he pleaded in eloquent terms for a missionary fund which should be available for evangelistic efforts on behalf of those parts of New Zealand which lay beyond the boundaries of the favoured province, and actually gathered £1000 for this worthy object.

Such a fund was, indeed, rendered all the more necessary by the action of Her Majesty's Government. When approached on the subject of the formation of a Canterbury diocese, the Colonial Office peremptorily declined to create so small a one as that desired by the Association. It must include the whole of the South Island; that is to say, the actual settlements of Nelson and Otago, as well as all the unoccupied territories to the west and south. To this enlargement of the diocese from the

size of a large county to something near that of England itself, the Association of course agreed, though not very willingly; and also to the further condition that £10,000 must be actually deposited as a preliminary endowment. The S.P.G. contributed £1000, but the rest was taken from the proceeds of the first land sales, which were all conducted in London, and no further difficulty was for the time anticipated.

A much more serious trouble, however, now arose,—one which threatened to imperil the whole scheme. The land was selling with most disappointing slowness. In spite of actual hard times at home and rose-coloured descriptions of certain prosperity abroad, barely 14,000 acres of Canterbury land were disposed of before the end of 1850, instead of the 200,000 acres upon which the promoters had reckoned. The new colony seemed likely to split upon the rock which has proved fatal to many similar ventures—want of funds. Godley himself, whose delicate health necessitated a sojourn abroad, had gone out to New Zealand to prepare for the settlers, and was no longer able to help with his inspiring presence. But his influence was still felt. “In this emergency” (to quote the words of his friend, Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald), “Lord Lyttelton, Lord R. Cavendish, Sir John Simeon, and others, came forward again and again with advances out of their private fortunes, to the extent not of tens or hundreds, but of *thousands* and

tens of thousands, to save the scheme from ruin. When we look back at those times, and ask what motive could have operated to stimulate these not foolish or imprudent men into liberality so unwonted in our commercial days, what it was which induced men, by no means rich for their position in life, to lay down such large sums when they could have had but a very dim and uncertain prospect of any return, and when the idea of profit was never dreamt of,—there is but one answer; and we believe it is the true one: it was their strong affection for the man who had induced them to join the scheme, and the determination that, in his absence, he should not be deserted. The work of his life was in peril; and, be the loss to them what it might, it should not be allowed to fail for the want of timely aid. There can hardly be any stronger proof of the wonderful influence which Mr Godley had acquired over his personal friends than this willingness to incur such large sacrifices for the sake, not even so much of himself, as of his idea. Rarely, indeed, do college acquaintances ripen into such noble and absorbing friendships in after life."

The chief obstacle thus removed, an actual beginning was soon made. But the colonists were not to take their bishop with them after all. When the necessary documents came to be drawn up, the law officers of the Crown found that the terms of Bishop Selwyn's Letters Patent were such that his diocese could not be

divided—certainly not by the Crown alone, and perhaps not even with his own consent. It was known that he was not willing to part with the whole of the South Island, because he was projecting a separate bishopric for the Cook's Strait settlements (Wellington and Nelson). The only course that seemed open was for Mr. Jackson to go out unconsecrated as Bishop-designate of Lyttelton² and confer with Bishop Selwyn upon the subject.

But if the emigrants carried with them no bishop, at least they had plenty of clergy and schoolmasters. Every ship carried a clergyman, and these had been selected by Mr Jackson "for the moderation of their opinions and their devotion to their work." The Canterbury settlement was, indeed, an ecclesiastical event, but we must be careful to guard against the error into which a learned German historian has fallen, viz., that of representing it as a party movement. Misled by the term "pilgrims" which was applied to the first settlers, and connecting their departure with the dissatisfaction which the Gorham judgment was at that time causing, and the consequent secession of Dr. Manning and others to Rome, Prof. Kurtz³ has compared the Canterbury Pilgrims with the New England pilgrim fathers and represented them as the victims of "ecclesiastical oppression." Nothing could be farther

² The diocese was to be called Lyttelton, because the Association, after some wavering, had provisionally decided to make Lyttelton the capital of the settlement.

³ Church History, Vol. III., § 202.

from the truth. The Canterbury Association was as comprehensive as the English Church itself. When the taunt was flung at the scheme upon its first promulgation: "It is all a Puseyite affair," the promoters were easily able to silence it by pointing to the presence among their number of Lord Ashley (better known afterwards as the "good Earl of Shaftesbury"), whose name is still borne by one of the principal rivers of North Canterbury. At the public breakfast held in London previous to the departure of the first ships, the colonists were urged to have nothing to do with the controversies of the day, but to cling to their prayer-books and their bishops. Never, in fact, has any colonising scheme received such open and cordial approval from the leaders of the Church. On the Sunday before their departure, the first band of colonists attended St. Paul's Cathedral, and were specially addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner); and a second band who left in May, 1851, were likewise addressed in Westminster Abbey by "the Bishop of All England," Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, who with his accustomed eloquence, compared their departure for New Zealand with that of Abraham for the Land which God would show him. "It is at God's call that you go—you go to maintain and spread abroad the true worship of the one God."

THE first band of colonists, numbering some 800 people, sailed in September, 1850, from

Gravesend, in the now historical "first four ships," and arrived at Lyttelton in the following December. Four hundred more soon followed, and by the time the last of the Association's chartered vessels had deposited its living freight (in 1853), some 3,400 members of the Church of England⁴ had been transferred to the New Canterbury. Twenty clergy were among their number, and most of these had come with the intention of settling in the colony.

The first ships also brought a large church bell, some surplices, books, and communion plate, for the church or churches which the emigrants expected to find ready built on their arrival. But the actual condition of things gave a rude shock to all the bright hopes with which the colonists had set forth. There were no funds to pay the clergy, and no churches in which to worship. The bell was lodged upon the hill-side, where it occasionally afforded grateful shelter to some poor fellow whose tent had been overturned by a sou'wester; the chorister's surplices found storage room with difficulty and lay for years unused; and when Bishop Selwyn arrived on the scene in January, he was obliged to celebrate the Holy Communion in a loft over a goods store, reached by a ladder, the seats being extemporised by resting planks on sugar barrels.

* A few of the emigrants were Wesleyans, for these were considered still to belong to the national church. There were a very few Presbyterians also. But they had all been recommended by their parish clergy.

The settlers found that hard work amid frequent disappointments was to be their lot; visions of cathedral and university must be postponed till material wants were in some measure supplied; huts of cob and *raupo* must take the place of castles in the air. It is true that Bishop Selwyn cheered the new arrivals with his practical counsel; true also that the physical difficulties of their position were not, after all, so very great—far less than those which most other pioneers have been compelled to face. As a matter of fact, the colonists, after a brief stay at Lyttelton, climbed the hills and gradually spread over the tussock-covered plains; began to build the city which Captain Thomas had pegged out amid the swamps and sand-hills along the Avon, and made it (Christchurch) their capital. But the violent contrast between the bright visions of the intending colonist and the prosaic—nay, even sometimes sordid—surroundings of the actual pioneer was too great for many of the less hardy natures. Half of the twenty clergy left the settlement—some for home, and some for other colonies. Worst blow of all, the bishop-designate himself, after a stay of six weeks, returned to England, and resigned his appointment. “A talented and amiable man unquestionably” (so wrote one of the clergy who remained at their posts), but one whom his best friends would probably not consider by nature qualified for the work of a colonial bishop.”

Godley himself returned to England in 1852, but he had never intended to become a permanent settler, and his health was now sufficiently restored to enable him to take up the position of Under Secretary of State at the War Office. At the farewell banquet on the occasion of his departure he analysed the disillusionment which had so severely tried the faith of the colonists. He traced it to the fact that they had expected impossibilities. "I will not say that I have not been disappointed in many things myself. No man in this world can go through any enterprise that has greatness in it without being often and sorely disappointed, because nothing great is ever done without enthusiasm, and enthusiasts are always over sanguine. When I first adopted and made my own the idea of this colony, it pictured itself to my mind in the colours of a Utopia. Now that I have been a practical colonizer, and have seen how these things are managed in fact, I often smile when I think of the ideal Canterbury of which our imagination dreamed. Yet I see nothing in the dream to regret or to be ashamed of, and I am quite sure that without the enthusiasm, the poetry, the unreality (if you will), with which our scheme was overlaid, it would never have been accomplished . . . Besides, I am not at all sure that the reality, though less showy, is not in many respects sounder and better than the dream. Take, for example, that common notion which so many educated and intelligent

people have of colonization ; the notion that it will enable them to live a sort of careless, indolent, easy-going life, under their vines and their fig-trees, among their children and their flowers, to revel in the spontaneous plenty of an exuberant soil, and to enjoy all the luxuries of civilization without its responsibilities, its restraints, and its labour. This is the kind of life that many of us fondly dreamed of. I will not say that I did not sometimes dream of it myself. But would this, even if it were not out of the question, be a life worthy of a man — of an Englishman ? Is the desire to fly from toil and trouble a worthy motive for civilisation ? Ought not our motive rather to be a desire to find a freer scope, and a more promising object for our toil and our trouble ? We all know now that when men colonize, more perhaps than in any other walk in life, they have to eat their bread in the sweat of their face. But this is the advantage, and pride, and glory of colonization.”

But the hard work of which Godley spoke was not altogether favourable to the religious side of the new colony. Or, perhaps, it would be truer to say that the exigencies of pioneering life tended to throw the *ecclesiastical* interest of the settlers somewhat into the background. Some, for instance, of the few remaining clergy were compelled to betake themselves to farming and could only give the Sunday—sometimes not even the whole of that—to strictly clerical work. Still, there must have been some more

powerful and special cause for the immediate and almost complete collapse of the Canterbury scheme of an exclusive Church settlement. The Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts kept up a much more exclusive *régime* for over seventy years, but the Canterbury pilgrims abandoned theirs at once. Doubtless a new spirit of toleration had appeared in the world during the period which elapsed between 1628 and 1850, but men do not give up their cherished schemes quite so quickly as Mr. Godley did his in 1851, without some urgent motive. The explanation must be sought outside the limits of Canterbury and even of New Zealand. It was the march of events in the neighbouring continent of Australia which broke up the ecclesiastical framework of the little colony. There the year 1850 had been a hard one for pastoralists ; station stock and property had suffered an alarming depreciation, and many Australians decided to emigrate to the cooler and better-watered territories of the South Island of New Zealand. They arrived almost as soon as the pilgrims themselves, bringing with them their flocks and their herds, their capital and their experience,—just the elements which the pilgrims needed but did not possess. These “shagroons” (as they were soon called, to distinguish them from the English “pilgrims”) naturally began to claim runs on which to depasture their stock, after the usual Australian manner. The law of the Association was that no one but a land-purchaser (*i.e.* a Churchman)

might take up a run. Godley was face to face with a crisis of the gravest character. If runs were to be granted indiscriminately to all comers, the fundamental provision of the settlement would be undermined. But he realised the necessities of the case. The Australians were indispensable: the English-made law must give way. He broke through the rules of the Association, he abandoned his own cherished principle, but (in the opinion of all competent judges) he saved the colony.

Now that the land was thrown open to all who could pay a moderate rental, the idea of exclusiveness was doomed. But Australia did more than send over its "squatters." In the next year (1851) it changed its character and instead of being a land which men quitted in dull despair it suddenly became one which they sought with frenzied eagerness. The gold-discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria drew crowds of labourers from all the neighbouring colonies, and among the crowds were many of the poorer "pilgrims." Their number may not have been very great, but their departure made a serious difference in the proportionate strength of Anglicanism amid such a small population as that of Canterbury then was.

The isolated community which Godley and his friends at first contemplated was doubtless an impossibility under modern conditions. The period of the "closed cell" has passed away; the "open door" is now the rule. A certain

regret may, indeed, be allowed that the principles of the Canterbury Association were not granted a longer lease of life and a fair opportunity of showing what their proper outcome would be. Colonial society is not so perfect that it can despise any high-minded attempt to better it. On the whole, however, the verdict of a high authority on missionary enterprise is probably not far from the truth. "The idea of the founders of Canterbury, however pious, was quixotic ; it failed to some extent, and rightly. Great as is the evil of religious division, uniformity is not to be attained by secluding a small community within a supposed happy valley, from which the ordinary snares of humanity are shut out ; the very attempt will produce either hypocrisy or rebellion against restraint. With this, as with other temptations, the true policy by which a manly Christian character is formed and strengthened is to pray not to be taken out of the world, but to be kept from the evil thing."⁵

THE history of the Church in Canterbury during the next five years (1851-56) largely consists in repeated attempts to obtain a bishop. The settlers built a plain church in Christchurch, a more pretentious one in Lyttelton, and three small ones in the country ; they made some progress towards self-government by getting the Church property transferred from the home Association to a body of trustees.

* The late Prebendary Tucker, in "*Under His Banner*," p. 252.

chosen from among themselves; but greater efforts were postponed for want of an appointed leader. Bishop Selwyn visited them from time to time, but left the oversight for the most part in the hands of the Ven. Oct. Mathias, Archdeacon of Akaroa. The Association was in a state of chronic poverty, and before its affairs were wound up in 1853 laid hands upon the "Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund." This money was not sacrilegiously misappropriated as some were naturally inclined to say, for it was spent in buying land for the church from the Association itself. The ultimate result was an endowment of great value, but the immediate effect was a condition of deplorable destitution. In 1853 the rental was but £140; and this was the whole sum available during that year for all church and educational purposes, except what was voluntarily contributed by churchmen, who (be it remembered) had already paid dearly for their land, upon the understanding that in so doing they were taxing themselves for the maintenance of churches and schools. Little wonder, therefore, that progress was slow, and disappointment general. But the colonists were Englishmen, and did not give up hope. Known in other parts of New Zealand as "poor, proud, and pious," they strove in dogged fashion to realise some at least of their ideals, and chief among these was the appointment of a bishop.

More than one obstacle thwarted their laudable desire. In the first place, the old legal difficulty revived, and was not finally removed till 1853, when a bill was passed through the British Parliament which divided the diocese of New Zealand, erected Christchurch into a city, and provided for the appointment of a bishop so soon as an income of £600 a year should be secured. This condition created another difficulty, for the Association in its embarrassment had succeeded in getting its original deposit of £10,000 transferred back to itself in return for a mortgage over the waste lands of the colony. Some time elapsed before this document was exchanged for an actual estate yielding the required income. When the legal and financial difficulties had been thus settled, others arose of a personal nature, through the hesitation or reluctance on the part of various clergymen at home who were asked to undertake the office. The following lines, written in 1854 by one of the local clergy (the Rev. H. Jacobs), faithfully depicts the contrast between the growing material prosperity of the settlement and its backwardness in things spiritual —

“ ‘ Do nought without a bishop ’ was the voice
Of Churchmen in those purer days of old ;
And wonder we why all is poor and cold
Within *our* Zion ? This one taint alloys
Our fair success. Our flocks and herds rejoice
Upon a thousand hills ; our spreading fields
Stand thick with corn ; God’s vineyard only yields
A poor return.”

At last there came the dawn of a brighter day. In November, 1855, Bishop Selwyn visited Christchurch, in company with the Rev. J. C. Patteson (afterwards Bishop of Melanesia). At a meeting of clergy and laity held in St. Michael's church, he strongly recommended his old friend, the Vicar of Stratfield Mortimer, as one eminently fitted to be their bishop. Mr. Patteson, on being appealed to, warmly seconded the recommendation. Some of the Canterbury churchmen made an earnest attempt to induce Bishop Selwyn himself to leave Auckland and settle among them; but, when this request had been firmly though affectionately declined, the whole meeting unanimously agreed to request the Crown to appoint the Rev. H. J. C. Harper. A petition to this effect was soon drawn up, and likewise one to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Both were signed by the chief personages in Church and State viz.: Octavius Mathias (Archdeacon of Akaroa), and Edward Fitzgerald (Superintendent of the Province), and by 184 of the leading colonists. A few extracts from the latter document will show the intensity of the desire for the appointment and the dissatisfaction caused by the long delay:—

"Your Grace is aware that one of the first objects of the Canterbury Association was the establishment of a bishopric in the Settlement they were about to found."

"The public announcement of this intention on the part of the Association, with the consent of Her Majesty's Government thereto, and the actual appointment of a

Bishop Designate, were among the strongest inducements to most of us to become purchasers of land and settlers in Canterbury."

"Under these circumstances [*i.e.*, the settlement of the legal and financial difficulties] and after a lapse of five years from the foundation of the settlement, we earnestly trust that no further delay will be allowed to intervene, and we venture to rely upon your Grace's zeal for the welfare and good government of the Church, and warm interest in the well-being of this settlement in particular, of which your Grace was one of the chief founders and well-wishers, that your utmost endeavours will be exerted on our behalf to obtain for us as soon as possible the accomplishment of our wishes."

"Your memorialists are desirous to impress upon your Grace their great anxiety for the attainment of their object."

"They beg to represent that the patience of many who have waited so long, and have been so often disappointed, is well-nigh exhausted, and that any further delay is likely to be of incalculable injury to the interests of the Church in a country where the difficulty of communication renders the efficient episcopal superintendence of the present undivided diocese an absolute impossibility."

"Believing that our earnest and united wishes will not be disregarded as to the person to be selected to fill the office, we have ventured to solicit Her Majesty to appoint the Rev. Henry John Chitty Harper, M.A., Vicar of Stratfield Mortimer, in the County of Berks and Diocese of Oxford, and formerly Conduct of Eton College, to be the first Bishop of Christchurch.

"May we venture to hope that your Grace will give the weight of your support to this Prayer of our Petition also."

Another year of waiting yet remained, but it was a year of renewed hope, for the answer to the petition could hardly be doubtful.

CHAPTER III.

BOUND FOR NEW ZEALAND.

“Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.”*

—*Horace.*

“On changing seas, ‘neath changing skies,
They keep a changeless mind.”

BEFORE the tidings of the Christchurch meeting could reach England, Lord Lyttelton, ever mindful of the welfare of Canterbury, but unaware in this instance of what had taken place, had been making independent attempts to obtain the appointment of a bishop. He had secured the consent of another clergyman, the Rev. Edmund Hobhouse, to allow himself to be put in nomination for the office which seemed so difficult to fill. The petitions of the Canterbury churchmen, however, made it perfectly plain that Mr. Harper was the object of their choice, whereupon Mr. Hobhouse at once withdrew his name, and stayed in England until 1858 when he, too, was sent out to occupy an episcopal post in New Zealand, as bishop of Nelson. No obstacles, therefore, now remained; the vicar of Mortimer resigned his living, and prepared for the new life and high office which awaited him on the other side of the globe.

The undertaking was indeed one which called for no small measure of faith and courage.

*The words “Coelum non animum” are the motto of the Harper family

Macaulay has endorsed and made familiar to us the dictum that "An oak should not be transplanted at fifty." Mr. Harper was fifty-two years old when he was called to the episcopate, and the change which its acceptance was to effect in his habits may indeed be compared to the transplanting of a sturdy tree. Hitherto he had lived a life of quiet and regular routine. He had never been placed in any position which demanded large statesmanship or even much readiness and resource. He had succeeded in his pastoral work by sheer goodness, combined with perseverance and an even temper. Though blessed with a magnificent constitution, and able to bear cold water in winter, he was not an athlete, nor an enthusiast for mountain climbing or other vigorous forms of amusement. His gentle horse exercise had been pretty well limited by the bounds of his parish, and he had reached an age when men usually think of diminishing rather than of increasing the amount of their physical exercise. Yet he was going to a diocese 400 miles long, broken by mountains, and traversed by swift and often unfordable rivers. It would not, indeed, demand the seamanship which Bishop Selwyn loved and in which he so greatly excelled, nor did it present the varieties of climate, nationality, and language which tried the strength of Patteson. But the pastoral oversight of a district whose area equalled that of England (excluding the county of York) was of necessity a heavy task, and when it is considered that

over the whole of that area there were almost no roads nor bridges, and further, that the mountains were much higher than those of England, the rivers less navigable, and the climate more uncertain, it will be seen that the duties of bishop of Christchurch were such as might well daunt any man who had already passed the prime of physical strength. Mr. Harper was not ignorant of the arduous conditions of New Zealand travelling, for two of his sons had already gone out to work under Bishop Selwyn in his Melanesian Mission. He counted the cost, and then undertook the work with calm resolution. Never a man of many words, he made no heroic professions, but in setting out for the Antipodes he went forth as one who simply obeys the call of duty, never looking back or thinking of a return to his native land.

The farewell to Mortimer need not be described in detail, but one feature is worth particular notice. Among the presents made by the parishioners was one from "the cottagers and servants of the parish." It consisted of two costly and handsomely-bound volumes—a Bible and a Prayer Book. They had previously been exhibited in the Exhibition of 1851, and are now in use in St. Mary's Church, Timaru.

In leaving the parish Bishop Harper unwittingly left behind him a legacy of strife, which, however, was not of a very acrimonious order, and was of some real service to the development of the colonial church. As in other cases where the appointment to a bishopric had

caused a vacancy, the Crown claimed the right to fill it. But in this case Eton College, as patron of the living, contested the claim, and succeeded in obtaining from the legal authorities a verdict to the effect that the Queen had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a colony which possessed representative institutions. These had been granted to New Zealand in 1852, therefore Bishop Harper did not really need Royal Letters Patent, and though they continued to be issued for a few years longer, the Mortimer case was one of the series of incidents which at length brought about their discontinuance.

The consecration took place under the Letters Patent, on August 10th, 1856, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, Dr. Baring being at the same time consecrated to the see of Gloucester and Bristol. The Archbishop (Dr. Sumner) was assisted by the Bishops of Winchester, Oxford, and Salisbury, but on the whole the service seems to have been deficient in impressiveness. Bishop Harper's feelings may be gathered from a letter which he wrote in his old age to a member of his family :—

"I can scarcely call to mind the proceedings when I was admitted to the diaconate by Bishop Murray, or those when I was priested by Bishop Kaye; even when I was consecrated bishop at Lambeth there was little except the occasion and the service to give that solemnity to it which appeals to our senses, and through them to the higher part of our nature."

One incident connected with the consecration, however, remained long in his memory. The

law of that period required that he should pay five guineas for an "alibi," that is, for a dispensation allowing him to be consecrated elsewhere than in Canterbury Cathedral. The Bishop-elect of the new Canterbury would willingly have given the money in order to be consecrated in the historic fane for which the old one is renowned, but the opportunity was never given him. Even his gentle nature felt the hardship of being fined for not doing what he would particularly have wished to do. Not to be without some link, however, between the new Canterbury and the old, he took for the arms of his diocese a design which he found upon a gateway in the ancient city.

A month later (on September 10th) the whole Harper family, with the exception of the two sons who were already in New Zealand and of two others who were left at Eton,¹ embarked at Gravesend in the *Egmont*—a sailing vessel of 787 tons—and early the next morning left the shores of England. They had a fair number of companions in the saloon. Among them was a clergyman, the Rev. G. H. Eyre; two laymen, Messrs. R. J. S. Harman and J. M. Heywood, who were returning to Canterbury after a visit to the old country; and a lady, Miss P. Torlesse, whose journal has happily been preserved and affords welcome information concerning the

¹ One of these (Edward Paul) was never to be seen by his parents again on earth. After leaving Eton he entered the navy, and was appointed to H.M.S. *Orpheus*, then in New Zealand waters. He left England in the *Raglan Castle* in order to join the *Orpheus*, but the ship was lost at sea, and no traces of her were ever found.

incidents of the voyage. A large number of steerage passengers brought up the whole ship's company to the number of 215. A journey to New Zealand by an emigrant ship, in the days before the era of steamers, was an experience which must have been undergone to be appreciated. The absolute sundering of all outward ties with the great world of men and things, the close intercourse for three months with a few intending colonists brimful of hope and high expectation, the friendships which are thus formed and often prove to be life-long—these are well-known to all who have made the journey. So, too, are the incidents of the voyage. The discomfort and misery of the first week ; the cheeriness which succeeds as sickness abates and warmer weather is felt ; the Doldrums with their stifling heat and tantalising calms ; then the long six or eight weeks of easting in the bitter cold and furious gales of the southern latitudes ; the increasing monotony broken only by the possible glimpse of a lonely island, or the hardly more frequent sight of a sail upon the horizon—a monotony which brings a sickness of its own upon the weaker natures, and tries the patience and the morals even of the hardy ; finally, the quickening of interest and the revival of health as the ship draws near to land and the end is at length in sight—all this remains vivid in the memory of those who have experienced it. Four deaths occurred upon the *Egmont*, and the Bishop occupied much of his time in ministering to the sick. At

the Sunday services he began to do what he had never attempted till then, viz., to preach without a manuscript—a training which was of use to him in his pioneering work on shore. He did not set himself to emulate Bishop Selwyn's brilliant feat of mastering the Maori language upon the voyage, for the Maoris were a mere handful in his diocese, and a knowledge of their tongue would have been seldom called for. But a certain amount of intellectual work went on in the saloon, and a paper of considerable merit, *The Egmont Times*, appeared every week. The illustrations in this journal were especially good. One of them represents an incident which was too diverting to be passed over. The Bishop, in full episcopal costume, is half-way up the rigging in pursuit of his youngest boy, who has mischievously climbed to the main-top but cannot get back through the "Lubber's hole." The soles of the Bishop's boots are being chalked from below by an audacious sailor, who will doubtless take good care that his lordship does not fail to pay the customary forfeit for thus invading the seaman's territory.

The last number of *The Egmont Times* breathes a more serious air. It contains a letter from the Bishop which may be quoted here as showing the same spirit which characterised him in the old Eton days :—

"December 11th, 1856.

MR. EDITOR,—

As the number of this week is, I believe, the last of the Egmont Times, I will with your permission avail myself of this opportunity to make a proposal to our fellow-passengers which will, I think, meet with their ready concurrence.

My proposal is, that if through God's mercy we arrive, as we anticipate, during the next week, safely at New Zealand, public thanks should be offered up to Him, in our name, on the Sunday following.

It has pleased Almighty God to take from us four of our fellow-passengers, and there has been sickness among some of us from time to time, but not more so, I believe, than might have been expected during a long voyage in a community of 215 persons, the greater part of whom are unaccustomed to a sea-faring life.

And when we consider what we might have had to endure, had it been ordered otherwise, and that we have travelled the wide ocean for more than three months, not only in perfect safety, but without even any of the discomforts and alarms which stormy or unfavourable weather would most probably have occasioned, we must, I am sure, feel that all is owing to Him Who doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him in heaven and in earth, in the sea and in all deep places, and that it is but fitting that we shew forth our thankfulness for the same by a public acknowledgment of His loving-kindness.

I propose, therefore, at the close of our voyage, sending round a paper expressing our thanks to Almighty God for our prosperous passage and safe arrival in New Zealand, to which those of the passengers who concur with me in considering this an act of duty on our part may affix their names; and I will give directions that the same be read at the *Morning Service*, on the *Sunday after our arrival*, at the churches of Christchurch and Lyttelton; and may I venture to express a hope that all who on that day may be remaining in these towns and their neighbourhood will give their personal attendance at those churches.

I am,

Yours very faithfully,

H.J.C. CHRISTCHURCH."

The hope expressed in the letter of the ship's speedy arrival in port was not fulfilled. Contrary winds were experienced on the coast of New Zealand, and it was not until December 22nd that the *Egmont* was off Banks' Peninsula. The first impressions—always the keenest—of those on board may be gathered from the following entries in the journal already alluded to :—

" Monday, December 22nd.—Disappointed again about landing, though we have made some little progress and have been within sight of Mt. Pleasant and of the mountains which gird the coast as far as Kaikoura in the Nelson province. I cannot conceive anything more magnificent than the view now presented to us. We could see as far as the Kaikoura Mountains nearly 100 miles off. The clearness of the atmosphere is wonderful, and can only be realised by those who have seen it. Mount Torlesse most distinct with its snowy summit, indeed, all the way up to the Kaikouras you see the snowy range.

Tuesday, December 23rd.—Soon after breakfast a fair wind sprang up and almost imperceptibly at first, then most rapidly, we neared the harbour. The day has been lovely, and as each fresh bay burst upon us new feelings of admiration came over us, and glasses were snatched from hand to hand in an almost frantic manner, many lovely spots being revealed as the various bays came in sight—some with snug homesteads and little patches of cultivation. The European travellers of our party said there was no finer scenery in Europe, while others compared it to the north coast of Devonshire and to the banks of the Clyde. At last we approached the harbour, which is most magnificent, a complete basin surrounded with mountains, on whose sides the light and clouds are forever varying. At 2 o'clock a gun was fired for the pilot, who presently appeared on board, and delighted we were once again to see a fresh face. We had for some time been gazing at a prettily-decorated little vessel, which we now discovered to be the *Southern Cross*,

and not ten minutes after the pilot came on board Dr. Selwyn with Mr. L. Harper were greeted by Dr. Harper and his family."

The now historical meeting between the two bishops may be described in the words of another eye-witness :—

"Gradually the boat drew near. I watched the face of Bishop Harper—its joy and anticipation mingled with anxiety. In the subsequent years I knew the Bishop never have I seen him so excited ; he was usually so calm, thoughtful, and passive. When within hailing distance Bishop Selwyn raised his hat and waved it. Bishop Harper repeated the salutation. Then followed a waving of handkerchiefs from the passengers clustered on deck, and eventually the boat came alongside. Bishop Selwyn was soon on board, with both hands clasped in those of Bishop Harper. They gazed at each other silently for a few seconds, Mrs. Harper and the family, all smiles, standing closely around. Then followed hand-shaking, enquiries, and congratulations. What a subject for a photograph !

As it was blowing south-west it took some hours for the vessel to beat up to her anchorage. Upon her arrival at the port boats came off containing clergy, friends, and others, who gave Bishop Harper and his family a right good welcome."

The first act of Bishop Harper and his family was to go ashore in Bishop Selwyn's boat and attend service in a room in the Immigration Barracks, which then served as a church for the people of Lyttelton. Fervent were the thanksgivings of those who had at length reached the land of their adoption ; of those, too, who were over-joyed to think that at last there were two bishops on the shores of New Zealand, and that the long unintended flock was now to have its appointed chief pastor. After the service the

travellers returned to the ship to spend their last night afloat, and to prepare for the labours of the morrow.

Before 8 o'clock on the morning of Christmas Eve the whale-boat appeared again, and Bishop Selwyn insisted on taking the party to see his trim yacht. As expressed in his own diary :— “Went on board the *Egmont* at 8, took off the Bishop and his whole family in our two boats ; carried them to the *Southern Cross* ; whole Harper family seated round our cabin, fourteen or fifteen happy faces.”

But there was little time for visits, however pleasant. Much had to be done before Christmas Day should dawn. The road to Sumner into which Godley had thrown so much of the Association’s money was still unfinished ; the Moorhouse tunnel which now permits the traveller to reach the plains in a few minutes, was yet in the future. Heavy luggage might be sent round by boat to Sumner, and might be expected to arrive at its destination in something under three weeks, but bedding and other immediate necessities had to be taken up the bridle-path, over the pass, and so on to Christchurch. Two hand-carts were borrowed, but how were they to be dragged up the 1100 feet of steep track ? Bishop Selwyn’s readiness of resource did not fail him. He harnessed his sailors to the trucks, the two bishops with their coats off pushed behind. Some way up the hill relief was brought by a man who was found working with a team of bullocks. These were

soon yoked to the load, by mid-day the summit was reached, and three cheers announced that the hardest part of the task had been accomplished.

At this point more clergy and friends arrived from Christchurch on horseback, and all sat down to a picnic lunch provided by Selwyn's foresight. The loads were now packed upon horses, and the procession moved down the hill-side. Another halt was made at Mr. J. Cookson's house in the Heathcote Valley, and the rest of the journey was made in various vehicles. The Bishop himself and some of his family were driven by Mr. Fitzgerald (then Superintendent of the Province) in a large but clumsy carriage. So rough was the road, and so full of holes, that the ladies at the back could hardly keep their seats, and at the same time take care of the case containing the precious Letters Patent. The vehicle moved swiftly behind a pair of horses driven tandem fashion, a fact which gave a double point to the long-remembered "*Tandem venisti, my lord,*" with which the Bishop was greeted at his journey's end by the scholar of the community, the Rev. H. Jacobs (afterwards Dean of Christchurch). The arrival was witnessed by a child who was looking on from the balcony of a neighbouring house, and her recollections (written many years after) are worth quoting, on account of their freshness and naiveté.

"The great event of 1856 was the arrival of Bishop Harper and his family. Well do I remember watching from our balcony, how they got out of some conveyance (I have forgotten what manner of vehicle it was) at the little Worcester Street footbridge, and each carrying some hat-box or other small baggage, walked one by one over to the house—fourteen precious souls, all told, I believe—the last being a pretty little boy of my own age, with large-patterned tartan stockings. Soon some of them were back at our house begging the loan of pots and pans, and then we were set to spend the summer evening picking gooseberries for them."

On the following day (Christmas Day) Bishop Harper was installed in the little St. Michael's Church. Bishop Selwyn was present and seven of the local clergy, but the proceedings were characterised by great simplicity. Mr. (afterwards Judge) Gresson read the necessary documents, and the Archdeacon declared the Bishop to be duly installed. Then followed the regular Christmas service, Dr. Harper preaching the sermon. Interesting as was the occasion, the fact must be admitted that upon some of the younger minds the appearance of the new Bishop made less impression than did that of his six daughters, as they moved in procession up the aisle. It has even been said that one or more important marriages were the outcome of that spectacle.

The house which had been provided as a temporary residence for the Bishop and his family, was a small cottage on Cambridge Terrace, which still forms the nucleus of a house which is now flanked on one side by the Canterbury Club, and on the other by the

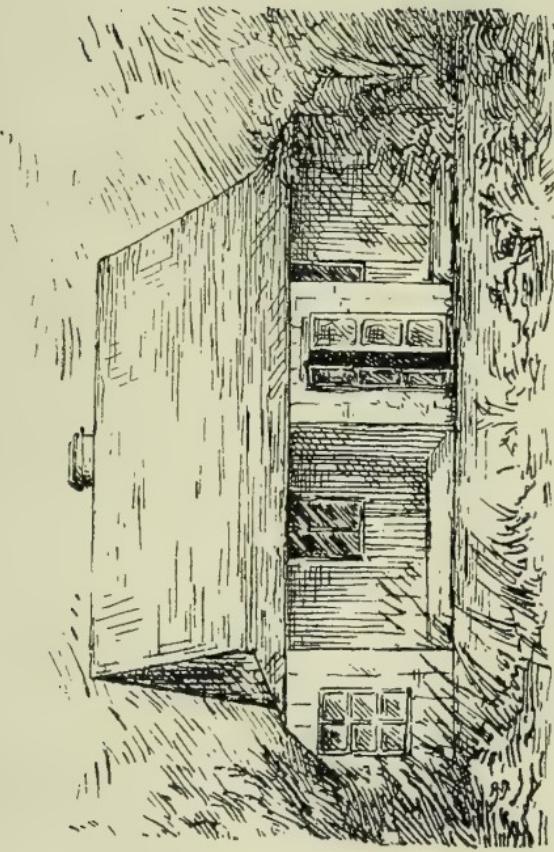
Public Library. At that period it stood alone in the block, which extends as far westward as Montreal Street. Much of the land then consisted of sand-hills, in which the Harper boys sometimes turned up a Maori skeleton or other relic of pre-historic days. The house itself was much too small for the number of its occupants, and for nearly two years the Bishop had merely a small fireless lean-to for a study. Water for all domestic purposes had to be brought from the Avon in buckets, and the family underwent some degree of that "roughing it," which old colonists knew so well. Like many other delicately-nurtured settlers, they threw themselves into their strange tasks with cheerful resolution, and were all the better for the hardships they encountered. Writing from the standpoint of old age, the Bishop remarks :

"Real work is the appointed lot of us all, and if not forced upon us by circumstances should be undertaken for its own sake, as a means for the improvement of our characters, and affording us opportunities of assisting others. I think the emigration of my family to the colonies has been of service to all its members, teaching us among other things to do for ourselves what many are apt to require of others on their behalf."

The cottage by the Avon continued to be the episcopal residence for nearly two years. During that time the pressure upon its house-room was to some extent relieved by a double wedding, which sent forth two young brides to

homes of their own in the country.² And in spite of all drawbacks, the stream of life ran faster than it had done in the old English home. The Christchurch of those days was a sociable little place: everybody knew everybody else, and the very makeshifts and inconveniences of their domestic affairs afforded matter for wholesome merriment to themselves and their friends. When in November, 1858, the new Bishops-court was ready—a house built chiefly by means of a grant of £1000 from the S.P.C.K.—it seemed a veritable “palace.” Though only a small timber structure, it was quaintly picturesque, and formed a comfortable home for the Bishop during the rest of his life. But in those early days his absences from home were many and long. We must now pass from his domestic surroundings and watch him at his work in the diocese.

² All that the town could furnish in the way of hired vehicles for this ceremony was one omnibus, in which both wedding parties were conveyed to and from St. Michael's church. It had been imported to run between the town and the Heathcote Ferry, but had never been used, owing to the badness of the road.



Etching by Miss Maling.

THE COTTAGE BY THE AVON.

Sketch by Mrs. Acland.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OFFICE OF A BISHOP.

(1857—1867.)

“ Bishops and priests, blessed are ye, if deep
(As yours above all offices is high)
Deep in your hearts the sense of duty lie ;
Charged as ye are by Christ to feed and keep
From wolves your portion of his chosen sheep :
Labouring as ever in your Master’s sight,
Making your hardest task your best delight.”

—*Wordsworth.*

To appreciate the nature and magnitude of the work which lay before the first Bishop of Christchurch, it will be necessary to ascertain what measure of progress had been made by the Canterbury Settlement during the first six years of its existence. Its social and commercial conditions have been so altered by the railways which now traverse the plains in all directions, that it is not easy to realise how large a part was originally played by natural features which now count but little, or not at all. For, although the Canterbury Plains offered an apparently open field for settlement on every side, yet they were not of so uniform a character as to invite settlers to advance evenly in every direction. Not distance from the base only, nor even the degree of fertility in the soil, sufficed to determine the time when a particular piece of country should receive an influx of population.

In the absence of roads and bridges, every small boat harbour through which goods might be sent to Lyttelton was of no slight value, and in a country which was almost bare of timber, every patch of bush was sure to attract attention. On the other hand, the heavy swamps which would one day carry a close agricultural population must lie undrained till capital should have time to accumulate. These general considerations will go far to account for the actual course of the history of the settlement on its outward or material side.

The population of the province at the beginning of the year 1857 was estimated to lie between 6,000 and 6,500. Of this number the oldest element was that formed by the French and German families of Akaroa, and the few settlers in the other bays of Banks' Peninsula. There were about a thousand residents in the town of Lyttelton, which was then a town of much greater relative importance than it is to-day. Far from being merely the port of Christchurch, it could challenge its younger rival in population and dignity. The General Post Office was still there, and the Immigration Barracks, and there the only newspaper was published. In comparison with Christchurch, its people lived closer together, and developed a more vigorous public opinion. The inhabitants of the two towns had (it was noted) "different tastes, different political creeds, and different ideas of geography." Of the remainder of the population the bulk was to be found in

and around the capital. Christchurch itself might indeed be described in the terms used of the Jerusalem of Nehemiah's day. "The city was large and wide : but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded." None the less was it the social and commercial centre of the young community, and was already more remarkable for its thriving trade (chiefly "horse and wool") than for the ecclesiastical and collegiate institutions which were to have been its principal feature. Outside the town belts the land was fenced and cultivated on every side, except on the north east, where the great swamp lay. Especially along the route between the town and the Heathcote ferry was population gathered, for at the two quays upon that river all the imports from abroad were landed. Small goods could be put in boats and brought up the Avon to the very confines of the city, hence what is now the suburb of Avonside had already sprung up. The nearest timber for house-building was to be found in the Papanui bush, and though most of its pines and totaras had by this time fallen before the axe, a thriving village was in existence.

But the time had now come for an onward movement. Emigration was in progress from the town and its neighbourhood to more distant fields. Its line of march was determined by the causes already indicated. Swamps, over which the cattle still roamed, hindered it from taking a southward direction ; to the west the land was too light and stony ; but the north offered an

easier opening. For there were the boat harbours of Kaiapoi and Saltwater Creek; there, too, were forests whose value was fast being enhanced by the exhaustion of the Papanui supply. Hence at the time of the bishop's arrival, the only agricultural settlements outside of the neighbourhood of Christchurch were those of Kaiapoi and Rangiora, and these were attracting population at a rapid rate. Elsewhere settlers were few and far between. Northward from the Ashley river to the boundary of the province; westward from Riccarton as far as the foot-hills of the great ranges; and southward, throughout the whole of the central and southern districts, there was nothing but the infrequent sheep-station which sent its wool by bullock drays along the tussock tracks to the town or to the coast, and received in return its necessary supplies. Roads stretched from Christchurch for a few miles in different directions, but, owing to the softness of the soil, they were often of little use in rainy weather. Except for a few ferries, the great rivers were only to be crossed by fording, and their sudden floods were often fatal to the impatient and venturesome traveller.

Besides what may be called Canterbury proper, there was the wooded district of Banks' Peninsula, which was the first to receive settlers, and still lived a life of its own. Akaroa harbour was much frequented by French and American whalers, whose custom made it almost independent of trade with Lyttelton. The few inhabitants of the other bays lived an isolated life.

"Very little sympathy exists" (wrote an observer in 1857) "between the settlers in this locality and those upon the plains. Besides the foreign element introduced by the original settlement from France, few of the inhabitants are led by business or pleasure to the open country, and those who come thence to Akaroa are not bound on business. Consequently, Banks' Peninsula might as well be an island, far out at sea, and its population men of another race and language." An illustration of this isolation is afforded by the fact that when the clergy presented an address of welcome to the bishop on December 31st—a whole week after his arrival—they had not been able to obtain the signature of the Incumbent of Akaroa.

To the westward of the plains rose the Alpine ranges. No one as yet knew what might be hidden within or beyond their unexplored valleys. Though sheep-runs were advancing every year along their base, the mountain passes and the West Coast district were quite unknown. One half of the whole province was still a *terra incognita*.

In matters political much activity was manifested. Representative institutions had been granted to New Zealand in 1852, and these had been framed upon a provincial rather than upon a national basis. Under them Canterbury (like the other provinces) enjoyed virtual self-government. Its council of twenty-four members received a constantly increasing land fund, and spent the money in forming the necessary roads

and in bridging the smaller rivers. Canterbury men favoured in theory a stronger central authority ; but it was noticed at this time that in practice they were beginning to change their politics. So fast did the change proceed that in 1861 it could be said "as far as Canterbury is concerned the General Government is nothing, and the Provincial Government is everything." A future chapter will show the ecclesiastical importance of this fact. From a police point of view, the settlement could not boast of any greater immunity from crime than the rest of New Zealand. It is only fair to note, however, that the occupants of Lyttelton Gaol were rarely of the number of the pilgrims; either they were time-expired or escaped convicts from Australia, or else they were sailors who had deserted from the ships in the harbour. On the whole, there was solid prosperity, and things looked well.

In sharp contrast, however, with this material advance was the backward condition of things ecclesiastical and educational. Whatever may have been the cause, the melancholy fact must be confessed that the two main objects of the original founders of the settlement were exactly those in which least progress had been made. A future chapter will deal with the subject of education : attention must now be given to that of religion. At the risk of giving offence or even pain to the survivors—or relatives of the survivors—of that period, it must be said that the picture presented by the Church in Canterbury at the beginning of the year 1857 is not a

cheerful one. A state of apathy and inertness everywhere appears. Clergy and laity alike show little power of initiative, and no missionary zeal. Many of the clergy who came out in the Association's ships had not chosen to make their home in the settlement, but ten still remained—enough, it would seem, to have supplied its needs. The population of the province, in spite of all the intermingling which had taken place, was still predominantly Anglican—seventy-five per cent. of the people being estimated to belong to the Church of England. Yet the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting together funds even for the building of churches, or for the payment of clerical stipends. Five small churches had, indeed, been erected, but these were of so poor a character that none of them was deemed worthy of consecration, while the only one of them (that at Lyttelton) which had any architectural pretensions was already in such a dangerous condition that the congregation had abandoned it in terror and were worshipping in one of the original barracks. The clergy were miserably paid, and nearly all of them had to find some supplementary source of income. One was giving his time to tuition, and the rest were nearly all engaged in farming. That this state of things, though capable of explanation, was not inevitable, is shown by the fact that amongst the small minority of settlers of other persuasions, the Wesleyans had built two chapels (one of them in a conspicuous position

in the centre of Christchurch) and were supporting a regular minister, while the Presbyterians, besides giving a fair stipend to their minister, were building a kirk in Christchurch which was of a far more solid and dignified character than any other ecclesiastical building there, and when opened a few weeks after the bishop's arrival, quite put to shame his little pro-cathedral of St. Michael's.

Much may indeed be urged in extenuation of this failure on the part of churchmen as contrasted with their fellow christians belonging to what are now known as the Free Churches. The Wesleyans had, of course, been thoroughly educated from the time of Wesley himself in the principle and practice of self-help. The Free Church of Scotland had entered enthusiastically upon the same course at the time of its disruption from the Established Kirk. The Church of England, on the other hand, by its very constitution depended on the leadership of its bishops. By its long connection with the state it had been shut out from all chance of self-government, and its ancient endowments had relieved it from the need of self-support. The Canterbury colonists in particular had (as we have seen) been led to expect a reproduction of the system which obtained in the Old Country, and having at the outset paid a high price for their land, set out with the understanding that no further pecuniary sacrifices would be demanded of them. Hence disappointment, irritation, backwardness, and apathy. As

regards the clergy, the pressure of poverty in some cases, and in others the cares of wealth—or rather, of landed property which was hereafter to produce wealth—co-operated in quenching enthusiasm and hindering missionary activity. Even work close at hand was often inefficiently done. The present colonial system of large districts in which one priest, assisted by lay-readers, provides services for many different congregations, does not seem to have been thought of. Each parish priest was content to keep up the old English tradition of two services a Sunday in the one building near which he resided, without attempting to extend his regular labours farther afield. Indeed, even this minimum was not always attained. When the grants from the Church property came to be made in 1857, we find that £50 was allotted to each cure in which two services were held each week, while to others only £30 was given, on the ground that no more than one service was performed!

This being so, we are prepared to find what looks like an entire absence of the missionary spirit. With the exception of one clergyman in the town of Akaroa, and of one who had taken up land in the new northern district of Woodend, all the clergy were clustered in and around Christchurch. The great plains with their scattered sheep or cattle stations were altogether neglected. This was then the chief feature in the situation. A bishop was needed who should be not merely an overseer of work

done by others, but above all a pioneer, a missionary, an apostle.

The need was at once realised by Bishop Harper. His long missionary tours are, indeed, the outstanding feature of the first years of his episcopate. In spite, however, of their importance—or, rather, *because* of their importance—they must be left for another chapter, and the remainder of this must be given to his efforts to set in order things that were wanting in the already existing parishes, and his endeavours to quicken the languid energies and strengthen the weak hands of their discouraged labourers.

The prospect was not really so hopeless as the preceding sketch might seem to indicate. After all the proportion of churchmen was unusually high for a colonial community, and there were many who were quite ready to respond to the call for action when addressed to them by one who had the right and the power to utter it. The foresight of Godley and his assistants had provided sites in abundance for churches, schools, and parsonages. In the very midst of Christchurch lay an open space which had been set apart for the future cathedral, and in each quarter of the four-square city an ample section of land for a parish church. Sites had been provided also for churches and schools in such suburbs and country villages as had then sprung into existence. The general trust estate, though as yet producing little, was becoming more productive every year. Best of all, there were a few clergy who were much in

earnest, and a splendid body of educated and attached laymen prepared to support the bishop in his efforts after good, and to form the backbone of the developing diocese.

His attention was first given to the need of better maintenance for the clergy. Meetings were held in the different parishes, and the bishop urged upon the laity the importance of regular contributions to the stipends of their own pastors. The conservative English temper of course raised many objections. How was the money to be raised? Seat rents were for the most part disapproved of. Voluntary contributions were admirable in theory, but had been found wanting in actual practice. At last the offertory or church collection was agreed to by all, and it was to be held monthly. Realising the missionary needs of his diocese and the claims of the heathen in the South Sea Islands, the bishop laid down the rule (which has ever since been observed in the diocese) that the offertories on four Sundays in the year should go to a central diocesan fund, and that of one other Sunday to foreign missions. The other seven—supplemented from such other sources as might be available—were to provide the stipend for the local minister. After a time the collection was extended to every Sunday in the year, but the system worked well from the first, and the clergy were soon in receipt of something like £250 a year.

The next need was that of better church buildings. A meeting was at once held in

Lyttelton, which resulted in a vigorous effort being set on foot for the building of a more solid and more durable house of God. On February 24th, 1857, came the first consecration of a church in Canterbury. This was at Avon-side, near the spot at which the boats discharged their cargoes. Much interest was shown in the proceedings. The day was fine and the attendance large. This church is described in the newspaper of the day as "the first substantial building erected to God's service, of materials that may endure for ages," and other parishes are exhorted to "go and do likewise." Yet the building was only formed of "well-tempered cob," and though it has undoubtedly lasted longer than its contemporaries, it is now regarded, with its ivy festoons, as an interesting relic of a former age.

The impression created by the bishop's first visits was uniformly favourable. Men soon found that they could trust him, and that he always took the highest view and acted from the highest motives. His courtesy and calm temper overcame most obstacles. For instance, after the meeting at Kaiapoi on January 29th, the remark is made, "We may look for a more prosperous state of the Church, now that we have a bishop among us whose sole desire seems to be to promote the well-being of the Church, and whose conciliatory manners will tend to soften down the angry feelings which have hitherto caused so much heart-burning."

But in spite of favourable impressions, the people of Canterbury were slow to wake from their lethargy. The bishop's appeals for more and better buildings did not meet with a very ready response. It is true that in the year 1858 one new church was consecrated in the neighbourhood of Christchurch, viz : that of St. Peter's Riccarton—the wooden nucleus of a church which has since been replaced by a stone structure. But this was far from meeting the necessities of the case. The population of the city was growing fast, and the church accommodation was utterly inadequate. Yet it seemed as though the parishioners would be content to go on indefinitely with their one small and insecure building. The bishop's first move for a new church met with much discouragement. In his diary of September 27th, 1858, he writes : "Saw Mr Miles respecting the new church. Mr M. gave it as his opinion that it was impossible to commence the building unless further subscriptions could be obtained, of which he saw no probability." Patiently and perseveringly, however, he worked on, and a month later (October 25th) had the intense satisfaction of presiding at a large and representative meeting of church members. at which a really comprehensive scheme was carried through. Those present were not all of one mind when they met, but all at last agreed to three important resolutions. The first, moved by His Honour the Superintendent, was to the effect that the present (St. Michael's) church should be strengthened and enlarged so

as to provide accommodation for one hundred additional worshippers. The second, moved by Mr (now Sir John) Hall, affirmed that a district church should be commenced; while the third, moved by Mr Justice Gresson, pledged the meeting to the erection of a central church or cathedral as soon as a sum of not less than £2,000 should have been raised. The bishop in conclusion urged that the three objects should be taken in hand in the order of the resolutions themselves. Parish and district churches first, and the cathedral afterwards—this was his policy. The townspeople must build their own churches, then the country would come forward and help in the erection of one central sanctuary which should belong to all, and which all should feel at home.

This meeting had the happiest results. The enlargement of St. Michael's was taken in hand at once, and the church was consecrated on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels in the following year (1859). On the very next day the bishop chose the site for the second church (St. Luke's) in Manchester street, north; on October 18th (on St. Luke's Day) its foundation stone was laid; and on December 30th, 1860, the church was consecrated. A month later the Cathedral Commission commenced its sittings, and the foundation stone was laid on December 16th, 1864, the fourteenth anniversary of the foundation of the settlement.

But the effects of the meeting of 1858 were by no means confined to the town of Christchurch. The impulse which it set in motion reached far and wide. In the month following (on November 10th) a letter from "A Pilgrim" appeared in the *Lyttelton Times* advocating a grant of no less than £10,000 from Provincial funds towards the building of churches in place of the "barns and rude sheds" hitherto made to serve in the settlement. On December 1st, the bold policy thus outlined was actually carried through the Council. On that day Mr Packer moved, "That whereas under existing circumstances it is expedient to assist certain Christian denominations in building or enlargement of places for public worship within the Province of Canterbury, be it resolved—

"That this Council will sanction the payment of £10,000 for the above-named purpose, out of the Public Revenues of the Province.

"That the said sum of £10,000 shall be paid to the several persons and in the several proportions undermentioned, respectively :—

For the Bishop of Christchurch, £7,800.

For the Acting Head of the Wesleyan Body, £800.

For the Acting Head of the Presbyterian Body, £1000.

For the Acting Head of the Roman Catholic Body, £400."

The motion met with some opposition, but after several amendments had been negatived it was carried by thirteen votes to two.¹ The help thus afforded was most timely. Settlement was proceeding fast all over the country, and the prospect of a grant in aid stimulated the people of rural townships and rising suburbs to put forth all their energies. Churches sprang up in all directions. They were usually built of timber, but they were well-constructed, fairly durable, and thoroughly church-like in design and appearance. Before the end of 1859. St. John's, Lower Heathcote (now Woolston) was ready for consecration. In February, 1860, the bishop was obliged to stay the too rapid construction of five others on account of a delay in the payment of the grant, but on April 10th, he had the satisfaction of consecrating a substantial stone church at Lyttelton, and on the 25th of the same month one of timber at Rangiora. In 1861, South Canterbury witnessed the consecration of its first church, viz: St. Mary's, Timaru (April 28th). In 1862 churches were opened at Harewood Road and Kaiapoi; in 1863 one at Halswell, besides the Cemetery Chapel in Christchurch; in 1864, Burnham, Geraldine and Akaroa followed. In 1865 no less than four new churches were consecrated, viz: those of Pleasant Valley, Southbridge, Opawa, and St. John's, Christchurch (the last a large stone structure); while

¹ A second sum of £10,000 was voted by the Council on November 20th, 1862. This was given to the various denominations on the pound for pound principle.

1866 witnessed no less than five consecrations—St. Mary's, Heathcote Valley, on February 8th ; St. James', Cust, on September 29th ; St. Andrew's, Oxford, on the following day ; St. James', Burnham, on November 1st ; and St. Mary's, Merivale, on December 20th. During the few months of 1867 which the bishop spent in his diocese before his first visit to England, he had been called upon to perform the same office for still two others, viz : St. Thomas', Flaxton, and the quaint little building of sun-dried bricks, St. John's, Leithfield.

This list does not, of course, include the various temporary churches and chapel schools which still did duty in some more backward places, nor does it include the churches built and consecrated during these years in Otago. When the bishop left his diocese in 1867, he had the happiness of knowing that, though many pastoral districts were still in the missionary stage, the more settled parts of Canterbury were studded with buildings large enough for the immediate wants of the settlers and sufficiently church-like in their architecture and appointments to keep in the minds of young and old some thoughts of unseen and eternal realities.

But the provision of suitable places of worship was very far from occupying the chief place in the bishop's mind. As he himself declared in his charge to the Synod of 1864,—

“ We may have spacious churches, built of substantial materials, furnished and adorned to the best of our ability, as all buildings should be

which are set apart for Him who is perfect in all His works, and I trust that every effort will be made by us to erect such buildings ; and these buildings, and the services in them, may attract large congregations, and so satisfy the expectations of those who do not look below the surface of things ; but the work of the Church cannot be accomplished in our churches alone, necessary and important as they are. Our chief work is outside these buildings, in the homes and in the hearts of men,—a work, the progress and extent of which is necessarily hidden in a great degree from the eye of man, and will not be known until the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And for this we require living agents living in districts in which they may be able to hold personal communication with the several members of their flock."

Remembering the high ideal put before himself by the bishop when curate of Eton, it may easily be imagined how greatly he would be dissatisfied with anything but a high standard among the clergy of his diocese. Their deficiencies were, indeed, a source of constant pain and trouble to him in the early years of his episcopate. Many of the Canterbury clergy had come out more as colonists than as pastors or missionaries. And very excellent colonists they generally were, but in other respects (as we have already seen) they were too often lacking. The six years during which they had lived without the stimulus of a resident bishop, and isolated from the more intense life of the

home land, had not tended to foster spirituality or zeal. The bishop's diaries show his constant efforts to raise the tone of clerical life and infuse earnestness into the backward and lukewarm. Very few of the first clergy of the settlement escaped reproof and even censure from their new diocesan. In some cases he went to the length of withdrawing their licenses altogether—sometimes restoring them upon promise of amendment. But all this exercise of discipline was carried out with great tact, and was known to few beyond the persons immediately affected. Sometimes a clergyman was deprived of a pastoral charge under the guise of preferment to another position, which brought perhaps greater dignity, but fewer opportunities of helping—or hindering—the real work of ministering to souls. The grounds upon which the bishop acted were generally those of negligence and inactivity. In some cases the accused admitted his want of aptitude for pastoral duties ; in others resentment was doubtless felt, at least for a time. But discipline was so justly and considerately administered that it seldom produced lasting bitterness, and the bishop was supported throughout by the best of the laity, who did not fail to recognise the high aims and pure motives of their chief pastor. The subject is necessarily a delicate one to treat, and more need not be said about it here. But it is necessary not to overlook this feature of the bishop's administration. In his old age everyone was so much impressed with his amiability and general

popularity, that the fear was sometimes expressed whether he might escape the woe upon those of "whom all men spoke well." The severity and the conflicts of his earlier episcopate should dissipate any such apprehension. They are now known to few, and they need not be dwelt upon here in any detail, but a truthful account of his life and work demanded that at least a general idea of their nature should be given.

More hopeful, as well as more pleasant, than the exercise of discipline towards the faulty, was the endeavour to introduce fresh labourers of a more satisfactory type. On December 20th, 1857, (just a year after his arrival), the bishop held his first ordination. On this occasion three young men were admitted to the diaconate—all of them destined to hold important positions in the future—viz : his own eldest son, the Rev. H. W. Harper (now Archdeacon of Timaru and Westland), the Rev. F. Knowles (now Diocesan Registrar and Canon of the Cathedral), and the Rev. C. Bowen (afterwards Archdeacon of Christchurch). The first-named was at once sent out to take charge of a large missionary district, consisting of the whole tract of country between the Waimakariri and Rakaia rivers. Mr Knowles was stationed in the Bays of the Peninsula, where he had already been labouring as a catechist. But the man on whom the bishop depended most during these years was the Rev. C. Alabaster, who had come from England in an apparently dying state. The change of climate restored his health for a time,

and he was appointed to assist in the parish of Christchurch itself. He is described by Dean Jacobs in his history as "a young man of strikingly interesting character and appearance who, with an acute and logical mind, combined deep piety, intense earnestness, and fervent eloquence."

Not all the clergy, however, who found their way to Canterbury were of Mr Alabaster's type, and even those who were selected and sent out from England by the bishop's commissary not infrequently belied the expectations which had been formed of their fitness for colonial work. Quality was hard to secure, and even quantity was apt to fail. New districts were constantly crying out for men, and the bishop knew not where to turn. The Canterbury Association had found no "dearth of clergy," eager or willing to accompany the first colonists with a prospect of good pay and open careers for sons and daughters. But the glamour had long since faded away, and colonial service meant hard work. A scheme which seemed at one time to promise well was that of ordaining the most promising of the country schoolmasters—at least to the diaconate. In one case this was actually done, and in several others the teachers entered upon the necessary course of preliminary study. The result was highly satisfactory. Not only were more opportunities of public worship supplied to out-of-the-way districts, but "the cause of general education was advanced to a very high degree." Such at least was the

judgment of the bishop in 1863, as expressed by him in his address to Synod. Such, however, was not the opinion of the Educational Commissioners. To them the time given to theological study and Church work meant so much time taken from their proper business : to the bishop it meant so much additional character and earnestness thrown into their proper business. But the Commissioners had their way. The schoolmasters continued to do much excellent work as laymen, but laymen they remained to the end.

Baffled in his hopes of supplying the ranks of the clergy from what had always been regarded as the kindred profession of the teacher, the bishop felt that he must have recourse to other sources without too scrupulous an insistence on intellectual qualifications. His remarks to the Synod of 1865 are strikingly in keeping with his earlier convictions as recorded in his Eton days. "None but fanatics will undervalue the high intellectual training which in England generally precedes the more especial preparation for the ministry ; but we may attach too much importance to such intellectual training, which, separated from godliness, is too often a snare to its possessor, and injurious to the best interests of society. Most unquestionably there is work to be done in the Church, as well as out of it, which, under God's blessing, may be successfully done by those who have not had the full advantages of an English home education,

provided only they are humble and earnest-minded men—men who have experienced in themselves the living power of the truths of Christianity, and who are ready to order themselves by the rules of the Church, and to comply with the godly suggestions of those who are placed in authority over them."

The last sentence implies that the bishop contemplated a rather long diaconate for those thus ordained without a university training. This was no doubt the case, though the practical exigencies of the diocese generally prevented so desirable an arrangement. But the bishop steadily set his face against what has been called "the permanent diaconate." He would never permit any clergyman—priest or deacon—to supplement his income by any secular employment. The scheme of deacon schoolmasters was not really an exception to this rule, for "in no case has the clergyman or lay-reader received from the educational grant more than has been assigned to other similar schools. Indeed, they have received less, and have been content with less, as might have been expected in men serving from the purest motives and for the highest purposes." With reference to a candidate (not a schoolmaster) who had called upon him, his diary of 1866 records—"Approved of his devoting one year in preparing for Holy Orders—if his means would admit of his doing so—but distinctly told him that I could not pledge myself to admit him to Holy Orders at the expiration of that period nor even at *any*

time, however well prepared he might be, unless I saw the way to some clerical appointment in which he might secure the means of living apart from secular occupation."

Such an attitude cannot fail to arouse some surprise in those who remember that Bishop Harper himself, when at Mortimer, devoted a very large portion of his time to the teaching of his pupils, and derived a large part of his income from their fees. Is there not an inconsistency here? Undoubtedly there does appear to be. He would not allow even his own sons to do what he had regularly done himself. What is the explanation? There must be one, and it can only be found in the experience he had had with the Canterbury clergy. Ideally there is much, very much, to be said for a self-supporting ministry like that of St. Paul. Unfortunately, the system often breaks down in practice. Men are not all like St. Paul, nor are they all like Bishop Harper. The money-making pursuit too often takes the first place, the spiritual duties are left far behind. The bishop had to lay down a rule for the average man, not for the exceptions. His mind may be understood from a passage in his charge of 1863. "I have no wish, and I feel sure that it is not the wish of my brethren in the ministry, that our position in this country should be one of wealth. It would be a matter of regret indeed if it could be said of any of us with any semblance of truth that we either sought or undertook "the feeding of the flock of God which is among us for filthy

lucre and not of a ready mind." But at the same time, it may be reasonably required that some suitable provision should be made for the maintenance of the clergy, such as would place them above all anxious cares and allow of their giving their thoughts and time, without interruption, to the duties of their calling." Rightly regarded, the apparent inconsistency of the bishop's action disappears entirely. Circumstances alter cases, and the circumstances of a colonial church are enough to alter cases of even greater importance than this.

Thus in different ways—by importations from England or other countries and by the ordination of the most fit among the local candidates who offered themselves—the staff of the diocese was recruited, and in 1867 Bishop Harper left twenty-five men at work in Canterbury, besides eight in Otago.

But the bishop was by no means content with zealous endeavours to multiply clergy and to render them more efficient. He found time in those early years to do an immense amount of direct pastoral work himself. Whenever a parish in Christchurch or its neighbourhood was temporarily vacant he himself stepped in and acted as its incumbent. For weeks together he would perform all the ordinary duties in the church and sedulously visit the parishioners in their homes. Especially did he throw himself into the work of preparing candidates for confirmation. He first developed this feature of his ministry at Avonside in 1860. For four

whole days before the confirmation he was visiting the different candidates in their homes. On the day itself he gave them the heads of his address beforehand. His own record of the service is worth quoting, as indicating what was afterwards his regular method.

"Question read once, and each candidate when called upon by name to answer separately. Reason—that their individual responsibility and what they were about to do might be more deeply felt. There is always danger of our shifting our responsibility in religious matters to others, but if there is a time when religion must be felt as a personal matter between God and your own soul, it is at such a time as this when you, 'before God and your fellow Christians openly declare that you hold yourself bound to believe and do all that was promised for you in your baptism.' "

This visiting of the candidates in their homes became from this time his regular practice whenever they were near enough for him to reach them. Several days were often spent thus, and in this way the ordinary parochial preparation was supplemented and deepened.

So zealously did the bishop work in vacant parishes that he practically took pastoral charge of the whole of Christchurch for several months in the year 1860. With the help of Mr Alabaster, he carried on the services at St. Michael's and also a Sunday evening service in the Masonic Hall, which then stood in Cathedral Square. So well satisfied were the parishioners

with this arrangement that the nominators proposed to forego their rights, and actually went so far as to nominate the bishop as their incumbent! This proposal could not be accepted, but the bishop allowed the nomination to be suspended for six months, and proceeded to carry on the work during that time. In fact, no labour came amiss to him. Was the hospital without a chaplain? Or the orphan asylum (an institution by the way, which he had taken the chief part in founding)? The bishop would take the burden upon his own shoulders, and devote Sundays and week days to the sick or the homeless. He had, indeed, learnt the master lesson, "He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve."

In this chapter attention has been confined to one department in a life of manifold activity. But it must not be forgotten that at the same time the bishop was busily engaged in other directions. As regarded the Church schools of the settlement, he was himself Board of education and general secretary; he spent much time in attending general synods in which the constitution of the young colonial Church was being shaped into working order; above all, he spent months of each year in missionary tours to the thinly peopled portions of his vast diocese. These wider labours must now be more fully described.

CHAPTER V.

MISSIONARY TOURS—OTAGO AND SOUTHLAND.

(1857-1871).

"In journeyings often, in perils of rivers, . . . in perils in the wilderness."—*St. Paul.*

ACCORDING to Her Majesty's Letters Patent, Bishop Harper's diocese was to consist of "all that portion of the Middle Island of New Zealand which lies to the southward of the northern boundary of the Canterbury settlement and also the Southward Island of New Zealand, and the Auckland Islands, and all the adjacent islands lying to the south of latitude 43° 5' S."

The mention of so many islands might at first suggest that the bishop of such a diocese would be constantly on the sea, and would need, like Bishop Selwyn, a mission yacht. This impression, however, would be an erroneous one. The settlement upon the Auckland Islands had already been abandoned owing to the Antarctic severity of the climate, and the "Southward Island of New Zealand" (*i.e.* Stewart Island) attracted little or no permanent population during the years in which it formed part of Bishop Harper's field of labour.

Putting aside its transmarine dependencies, however, the diocese was yet an extensive one.

It included the whole of the provinces of Canterbury and Otago, and the population was scattered along a stretch of country which extended from the Hurunui to Jacob's River. Outside the comparatively small area about Christchurch which (as described in the last chapter) had been mapped out into parishes and provided with clergy, the whole of the inhabited portions of the two provinces went to form the bishop's mission-field. Of course Otago was by no means destitute of religious ordinances. It was as strongly Presbyterian as Canterbury was Anglican, perhaps even more so. But outside Dunedin and one or two smaller centres the country was cut up into large sheep-runs, similar to those in South Canterbury ; and many of the run-holders, as well as a certain proportion of the townspeople, belonged to the Church of England. The bishop in his tours through Otago was always on thoroughly good terms with the Presbyterians, but he felt it his duty to seek out those of his own communion and to minister to them. There was but one Anglican clergyman (the Rev. J. A. Fenton) in Otago when he first visited it, and his work, both in town and country, was largely that of a pioneer.

But before attempting a description of the bishop's journeys to the southern extremity of his diocese, some notice must be taken of his travels in the smaller missionary areas to the east and north, viz., those of Banks' Peninsula and of North Canterbury.

Six weeks had barely elapsed from the time of his landing at Lyttelton, when he started (February 5th) for a walking tour from Christchurch to Akaroa. Accompanied by Archdeacon Mathias, he visited the different bays and spent some days at Akaroa, where he preached on Sunday, the 8th, and held a meeting on the 11th, at which the church finances were placed upon a more stable basis. In the next year also he went on foot, but availed himself, where possible, of water carriage. After a walk from Diamond Harbour to Pigeon Bay, where he arrived wet through, we have the following entry in his diary of March 11th, 1858 :—

Left Pigeon Bay about 10. Arrived at the head of the harbour, Akaroa, about 3. No boat for an hour or more. When obtained, a strong wind against us compelled us to put in at German Bay. Only a boy to help us. Walked over to Akaroa. Heavy rain. Found Mr. Aylmer's house full.

This may stand as a sample of such mischances as are due to rain and contrary winds at sea. In the following year (1859) he had experience of another of the dangers which beset the dwellers upon the Peninsula. On October 13th the hotel at the head of the bay was nearly burned in one of the bush fires which devastated the district in hot summers. The bishop happened to be there at the time, and "exerted himself" (as the newspaper put it) "in the most energetic manner to preserve the timber and other property lying about."

As a contrast to this journey amidst the blazing pines and totaras, we may quote the records of the next year's tour (1860), which was rendered difficult and dangerous by floods and snow. The bishop always minimised dangers in his diary, but the fervent Latin thanksgiving which concludes this account may be taken as a sure sign that the "perils in the wilderness" and "the perils in the sea" had in this case been very real ones.

"*July 10th, 1860, Tuesday.*—Fine day. *Visitation of Banks' Peninsula.* Left Christchurch 10 a.m. Arrived at Governor's Bay 1.15. Called on Mr. Potts. Arrived at Purau 4 p.m. Called on Mr. Rhodes. Went on to Mr. Wood's and remained for the night. Evening prayer—'Palsied Man.'

July 11th, Wednesday.—Fine day. Rode on to Port Levi from 9.15. Monument 11.30. Mr. Cholmondeley's 12.15. Evening prayer—"Samaritan Woman."

July 12th, Thursday.—Fine: wind from north-west. Left Port Levi with Mr. C. Cholmondeley 10.5. Arrived at Anderson's, 4.15. Snow on Mt. Herbert. Messrs. Anderson and Parsons had come eight or nine miles the previous night in search of me, supposing that I had been lost.

July 13th, Friday.—Dull: inclining to rain. Rain towards evening. Left Anderson's 10. Arrived at Akaroa 11.30. Visited candidates for confirmation.

July 14th, Saturday.—Heavy rain. No moving from the house—Mr. Aylmer's.

July 15th, Sunday.—Heavy rain. Service in the house.

July 16th, Monday.—Slight showers. Confirmation of seven candidates.

July 17th, Tuesday.—Tolerably fine. Left for Okain's Bay, 10. Met on the top of the hill Mr. Torlesse. He returned with me. Rough riding—trees broken down by

snow. Bridge destroyed in the entrance of Bay. Arrived at his house about 3.

July 18th, Wednesday. — Fine: occasional showers. Examined the school, especially the two upper classes. About 27 children present. Evening service in the chapel school. Preached on the ‘Parable of the Prodigal Son.’ People attentive. About 40 persons present.

July 19th, Thursday. — Wet morning. Had intended going to Akaloa on foot. Prevented by weather. Cleared up towards noon. Visited the reserve for churchyard, and promised to consecrate a part of it if enclosed.

July 20th, Friday. — Left Okain’s Bay with Mr. Torlesse, 9.20. Arrived at Anderson’s, 1 p.m. Dined, and on to Pigeon Bay. Road shocking. Reached Mr. Sinclair’s, by descending into the tide, about 5. Evening service—‘I am the vine.’

July 21st, Saturday. — Fine. Left Mr. Sinclair’s, 9.30, with Mr. Frank Sinclair, who led my horse over the brow of the hill. Arrived at the top of the hill 12.15, at Mr. Fleming’s 1, at Mr. Cholmondeley’s 1.45.

July 22nd, Sunday. — Very wet. Morning—service in the house. Family present with two others. ‘I am the vine.’ Evening service—‘The Prodigal Son.’

July 23rd, Monday. — Snow, hail, and rain. Bound to the house. Evening prayer—St. John xi., first part.

July 24th, Tuesday. — Fine, with occasional showers. Left about 10. Arrived at Mr. Wood’s 1.15, through heavy snow on the hills and in the bush. Lunched, and on to Governor’s Bay. Snow partially melted. Mountain torrents full and noisy. At Governor’s Bay 4 p.m. Snow thicker on the ground, increasing in quantity on the ascent. Heavy drift on the descent. Path not easy to find. Arrived, however, safe at home, 7.30. All well at home. *Deo Optimo Maximo sint gratiae per Jesum Dominum nostrum.*”

Many incidents of the bishop’s Peninsula tours are treasured up in the memories of the inhabitants. On one occasion, he and Archdeacon Mathias were hospitably entertained by

the Maoris at Wairewa (Little River). The best room and the best bed were of course given to the bishop, and he enjoyed his usual sound sleep. But in the morning he was struck with the rueful looks of his companion, and found that he had passed a very restless night. "In fact, I could not sleep at all," said the Archdeacon, "my pillow seemed always cold, and was never easy." Upon investigation it was found that the pillow was indeed little likely to induce refreshing slumbers, for its stuffing consisted of live eels.

On another occasion the bishop was on horseback, and was accompanied by a younger clergyman, the Rev. E. A. (now Archdeacon) Lingard. They arrived at the foot of a hill so steep that it seemed impossible to climb.

"What are we to do, my lord?"

"Do as I do," said the bishop. Thereupon he dismounted, put his horse to the hill, and grabbed his tail tightly. Up went the experienced animal, over the logs and tree-stumps; the bishop held on behind, and the difficulty was soon overcome. What would his English friends have said if they could have seen their old vicar engaged in such an acrobatic feat?

An incident may be mentioned here which the bishop gives in his own diary. It happened on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1858, and is interesting as showing the difficulties which sometimes befell travellers at that date even in the neighbourhood of the city. The bishop's intention evidently was to hold service at

Governor's Bay. He started from home in ample time, but did not appear at his destination till past mid-day.

To Hoon Hay with L. Left home at 8.15, arrived at Hoon Hay 9.15. Rode up the hill : arrived at the summit about 10.15. Lost our way through the misdirection of a sawyer, and got entangled in the bush. Emerged on a ledge of rock, thickly covered with herbage, about 11.40 ; and having tethered our horses there, descended by steep gullies to Parsons'. Arrived there a quarter before 1. By 1 the family had returned from the temporary place of worship. Had evening service at the Parsons'. Present, the family and four others. Drank tea, ascended the hill in about an hour. Arrived at Mr. Cridland's 7 p.m. Home at 9.

Let us now follow the bishop into North Canterbury. Though population was moving in that direction, there was no close settlement as yet beyond the Ashley ; and though the country about Leithfield, as well as that towards the Oxford bush, soon passed into a more settled stage, and received resident clergymen, it was the bishop himself who did the pioneering work. No account of his first visitation has been preserved, but that of 1858 may be given in full. Wherever he spent a night he held a service, and delivered an address of a missionary character. The subjects of these, though always mentioned, are here often omitted, for the bishop believed in John Wesley's plan of preaching frequently the same sermon. Only let it be remembered that the words "evening prayer" always imply a simple missionary address.

Northern visitation.—April 10th, 1858, Saturday.—Started for Kaiapoi and on my northern visitation. Arrived at Kaiapoi 5 p.m. Mr. A. Blakiston's. Evening prayer. The Rev. W. W. Willock subscribed the Declaration and took the oaths, and was licensed by me to the district of Papanui and Kaiapoi.

April 11th, Low Sunday.—Very wet south-wester. No service in church. Confirmation delayed. Service at Mr. Blakiston's. Present, four people.

April 12th, Monday.—Morning prayer. Saw Mr. Willock. Arrived at Rangiora 5 p.m. Evening service. Present, four people.

April 13th, Tuesday.—Left for Fernside. Dined there, and rode on with Mr. H. Torlesse across the Moeraki Downs to the Cust Valley. Crossed the Cust with some difficulty, and arrived at Mr. Higgins', Cust Valley, about 6 p.m. Evening prayer.

April 14th, Wednesday.—Two baptisms. Dined at Mr. Sanderson's. Arrived at Mr. Cookson's 3.30. Mrs. Cookson absent. Drank tea in the sawyers' hut. Slept at Mr. Cookson's. Evening prayers.

April 15th, Thursday.—Started at 10. Visited T. Marsh junr. Rode on to Captain Milton's and dined there. Returned partly by the same route, and arrived at Mr. White's. Service. Present, Mr. W. and three servants.

April 16th, Friday.—Rode on with Mr. White to the end of his run. Called at Mr. Dixon's; dined, and on to Captain Rowe's. Full evening service—‘Parable of the Talents.’ Seven present.

April 17th, Saturday.—Morning prayer. Rode on to Mr. Chapman's. Mr. C. absent. Rode on to Mr. Torlesse's, Fernside. Evening prayer. Men present.

April 18th, Sunday.—Dick gone off. Went in with Mr. Torlesse to Rangiora (a funeral). Evening service at Rangiora—school house. Well attended. Baptism.

April 19th, Monday.—Baptism. Dick found. Rode on to Mount Grey station. Called on the Captain Brindon's—living under canvas. Crossed the Ashley without difficulty. Arrived at Mrs. O'Connell's about 5. Evening prayers.

April 20th, Tuesday.—Remained at Mrs. O'Connell's. Rode out with her up the bed of the Kowai. Evening prayers.

April 21st, 22nd, and 23rd.—South-wester. Shut up in house.

April 24th, Saturday.—Fine day. Left Mrs. O'Connell's at 9 a.m. Called at Mr. Douglas'. Dined, and rode across the plain and over the downs to Messrs. Marchant's and Polhill's. No one at home. Crossed the Waipara, and arrived at Mr. Meldrum's (Teviotdale). Mr. M. arrived in the evening. Evening service.

April 25th, Sunday.—Service at 11—Litany; 1 Peter ii., 11. Twelve persons present. Walk after dinner. Service in the evening—‘Ten Talents.’

April 26th, Monday.—Fine day. Rode on with Mr. Meldrum. Parted company about two miles from Teviotdale, and over the Limestone Range to Mr. Caverhill's. Mr. C. and Mr. Templer absent. Service in the evening—‘The Prodigal Son.’ Well attended.

April 27th, Tuesday.—Baptism. Rode on with George, a half-caste, over the hills in the direction of Mr. Moore's. Creeks impassable. Returned to Mr. Caverhill's. Evening service—‘The evil spirit cast out.’

April 28th, Wednesday.—Returned to Mr. Meldrum's after a vain attempt to get to Mr. Moore's by following down one of the spurs of the Limestone Range. Hail and snow at intervals. Evening fine. Mr. D. only at home. Evening service.

April 29th, Thursday.—Fine day. Rode on from Teviotdale across the Waipara, passing the stream three times before arriving on the plain. Arrived at Mr. Moore's about 1. Mr. M. absent. Mr. and Mrs. White, overseer. Remained the rest of the day. Evening prayer—‘Lord's Prayer.’

April 30th, Friday.—Wet morning. Started about 1, and crossing the bed of the Waipara passed through the Weka Pass towards Mr. Mason's. Old house unoccupied. On

six miles further to new house. Mr. Mason absent. Present, three men. Evening prayer—‘Prodigal Son.’ Wool and tarpaulin bed.

May 1st, Saturday.—Fine day. Rode on to Messrs. Walker’s and Mallock’s station (Heathstock). Found it after some slight aberrations from the track. Crossed the Waipara too soon. Luncheon, and on to Mr. Young’s. Evening prayer—‘Lesson of the day.’

May 2nd, Sunday.—Morning service (six present)—‘Importunate Widow and Publican.’ Rode on about 12 o’clock with Mr. Young, across hills under a south-wester to Mr. Douglas’. Arrived about 4, thoroughly wet. Evening prayer.

May 3rd, Monday.—South-wester, no rain. On across the Kowai and down the left bank. Across a creek to Leith’s Kowai Accommodation House. Thence across Saltwater Creek—Cameron’s Accommodation House. Thence across the Ashley to Mr. Raven’s. Dined, and on to Kaiapoi. Called at Mr. Wylde’s, and on home in company with Mr. H., overseer of roads. All well at home. D.G.”

But though the outlying districts of northern and central Canterbury demanded a good deal of time, and presented plenty of obstacles in the way of rapid travelling, it was the great southern tour which was the really arduous part of the bishop’s early labours. In the first year of his episcopate he spent $2\frac{1}{2}$ months on the journey, leaving home with his eldest son on July 29th, and returning on October 13th. Unfortunately, no detailed account of this visitation has been preserved. As showing the slowness of communication and the isolation of the different settlements, the following extract from the *Lyttelton Times* of September 12th, 1857, is worth quoting:—

By late arrivals from Otago we learn that the Bishop of Christchurch arrived safely in Dunedin on Saturday, the 15th ult., and preached twice the following day. The affairs of the church in that province are reported to be tolerably flourishing.

After the bishop's return home, the same journal can give nothing but the meagre notice that the weather had not been very favourable, but "the journey was, we are informed, accomplished without encountering any extraordinary difficulties." Extraordinary or not, some of the difficulties seem to have been of a sufficiently serious nature. In crossing the Mataura, for instance, the bishop was thrown from his horse, and only saved himself by swimming. His hosts at the next stopping-place were entertained with a discussion between himself and his son, as to the details of the adventure. The son declared that he had seen his father disappear beneath the surface of the water. The bishop stoutly maintained that this could not have been, for had he not kept his hat on all the time? The tall, episcopal hat was an argument not easy to get over, and the bishop made little of the incident. And if on his return home he treated his difficulties lightly, he touched upon them more lightly still in his later years. Speaking in 1890, at the banquet of welcome to his successor, he said, "Perhaps the greatest difficulty I felt was the coolness with which, when we arrived at a house, our horses were unsaddled, and we walked up to the house without having ever been introduced

to the host or hostess. In our first journey I felt that even more than fording the rivers." Doubtless, as time passed, and the bishop came to know the settlers upon whom he called, this feeling would disappear under the influence of the hearty welcome which was everywhere extended to him; but even then his old-fashioned politeness must have made him somewhat uneasy, when he realised the straits to which his entertainers were sometimes put. On one occasion the house consisted of two very small rooms opening into one another. The general room was given up to the guest, but he had to lie upon the floor, and even let his feet project a few inches through the door into the room where his host and hostess slept. Occasionally (as will be seen) he was glad of a bunk in a stockman's hut. But usually he had fair accommodation at night, and he never failed to hold a mission service at every house where he stayed.

All the work had at first to be done by riding. He had been presented with a tall, iron-grey horse (Dick) of great strength, upon which he generally rode, but Dick was not fond of fording rivers, and sometimes left his master in the lurch at critical times. This horse had originally come from a farm near Goodwood in Otago, a place two hundred miles from Christchurch, and the bishop sometimes utilised his homing propensities by opening the stable door some time previous to his own start. Dick, finding himself free, would make his own way to Cherry

Farm, and be fresh for his master when he arrived¹. The bishop was usually accompanied by one of his sons, or perhaps by a young clergyman or student, and he always took with him a pack-horse to carry books, Communion vessels, etc., besides his personal baggage. Before reading the following detailed account of his second southern tour (that of 1858), let the reader try to imagine what those bare journal entries really mean.—Five, six, seven, or eight hours in the saddle day by day, and that often in the face of piercing south-westers, driving rain, or wet cold mists. The fording of deep and swift rivers like the Rakaia, Waitaki, or Clutha. The inconvenient lodgings, the uncertain meals, the hard beds. All this continuing for a period of many weeks, during which no news from home could reach the travellers, and none but the rarest tidings of them reach those at home.

With these prefatory observations, we give the bishop's itinerary of his second southern visitation (1858):—

Southern visitation.—June 11th, Friday.—Started with L., 3.15. Road bad beyond Riccarton. Dark as soon as we reached the plains. Found our way, however, without much difficulty to Mr. C. Percy Cox's, Springs Station. Arrived there 6.30. Fine weather. Evening prayer—‘The woman that was a sinner.’ Messrs. Cox, Draper, three men, one woman.

June 12th, Saturday.—Left Mr. Cox's at 9. Fine morning. Crossed the Rakaia 2.30, and arrived at Mr. Chapman's 3.30.

¹ Imagine the Archbishop of Canterbury preparing for a journey to Scotland by opening his stable door at Lambeth a month beforehand, and then relying upon finding the horse waiting for him at York!

Slight rain for the rest of the day. Evening prayer (five present).

June 13th, Sunday. — Acton Station, Rakaia. Full service — Communion Service, baptism, and churching. Evening service. Rain all day.

June 14th, Monday. — Acton Station. Very wet. Remained at Mr. Chapman's. Evening prayer.

June 15th, Tuesday. — Left Mr. Chapman's about 10. Arrived at Heyhurst's 1.30. Dull weather, but only slight rain. Evening prayer (six present).

June 16th, Wednesday. — Left Heyhurst's 9.30. Arrived at Messrs. Gray and Wm. Scott's station about 2.30, Mr. Cox being our guide. Evening prayer. Dull morning. Splendid afternoon.

June 17th, Thursday. — Crossed the Rangitata with Mr. Gray, and arrived at Mr. McDonald's 2.30. Evening prayer. Splendid day.

June 18th, Friday. — Rode on from Mr. McDonald's to Mr. Rhodes'. Opihi high, but fordable. Evening prayer. Splendid day.

June 19th, Saturday. — Rode back to the Arrowhenua Bush, and called at Deans' Accommodation House and at Mr. Hornbrook's, announcing to them the proposed service at Mr. Rhodes' on the day following. Returned to Mr. Rhodes' 3 p.m. Evening prayer. Splendid day.

June 20th, Sunday. — Levels Station, Mr. Rhodes. Morning service. Rode on to Timaru. Evening service in Cane's woolshed. At Mr. Woolcombe's for the night. Fine day, but cloudy at times.

June 21st, Monday. — Rode on to Pareora (baptism). Evening prayer. Fine day, but cloudy.

June 22nd, Tuesday. — Fine morning, slight frost. Rode on for Mr. Studholme's, Waimate Bush. Evening prayer. Fine day.

June 23rd, Wednesday. — Rode on with Mr. Teschemaker to Mr. Pike's (baptism). Forded the Waitangi opposite Waihine Hut. Landslip on the opposite hills. Good ford,

but long. Arrived at Mr. Filleul's (Papakia) about 4. Evening prayer. Fine day.

By fording the Waitaki he had crossed into Otago. But his tour through this province was, if anything, more encouraging than the journey through Canterbury.

June 24th, Thursday.—Gave books to Mrs. Crowe for children. Rode on with Mr. Teschemaker. Saw Messrs. Bourton and Trail at Oamaru. Dined at shepherd's hut, near the Karhanui. Parted with Mr. T. and rode on to Mr. Herslet's, Moeraki. Arrived there 6.30. Evening prayer. Fine day throughout.

June 25th, Friday.—Baptism. Rode on with Mr. Orbell. Pack mare fell and dislocated the hock joint in the Shag River. Arrived at Goodwood 4.30. Evening prayer. Fine day throughout."

Saturday and Sunday were spent at Goodwood. On the Sunday afternoon there was a congregation of fifty at Cherry Farm, and the bishop walked on to Mr. Orbell's afterwards.

June 28th, Monday.—Walked to Metainika. Lunched at Mr. J. Jones'. Returned to Mr. Orbell's. Evening prayer. Fine day.

June 29th, Tuesday.—Waikouaiti to Dunedin. Wet morning. Mist on the hills. Cleared up about 10. Started and arrived at the Dunedin side of the Snowy Range about 5. Found our way with some difficulty to Mr. Fenton's.

July 1st, Thursday.—Dunedin. Called on Mr. Jones and spoke to him about Mr. Wyatt. Mr. Jones said he would guarantee £160 per annum at Waikouaiti if Mr. Fenton would take the duty there, and on my suggesting that Mr. Fenton's income would be mainly dependent on Mr. Jones' life, he answered that he would make provision in his will for the Incumbent of Waikouaiti if it were likely that his income would be reduced by his death. Called on Mr. Cargill, etc.

The bishop stayed at Dunedin until the 6th, preaching at the temporary church on Sunday, the 4th, confirming 16 candidates there in the evening, and holding a church meeting on the following day. In his opening remarks he expressed his satisfaction at meeting the members of the church again, and finding so many tokens of improvement and progress. A committee was appointed to look after the clergyman's stipend, and some offers of help were made in the room, among them being one of posts and rails for the cemetery fencing.

July 6th, Tuesday.—From Dunedin to Waihola Lake. Started about 11.30. Met Mr. Gillon of Waihola Park at the Taieri Ferry. Arrived at Mr. Gillon's house about 5. Evening prayer. Splendid day throughout. Roads bad from frost.

July 7th, Wednesday.—Waihola Lake to Tokomairiro.² Wet morning. Started about 1. Reached Mr. Dewe's 4.30. Evening prayer.

July 8th, Thursday.—From Tokomairiro to the Molyneux. Wet morning. Started about 11. Arrived at Mr. Maitland's at 4. Evening prayer. Slight showers, but not sufficient to inconvenience us.

July 9th Friday.—From Molyneux to Wairuna. Crossed the Molyneux,³ and leaving the further bank about 1, arrived at Wairuna (Mr. G. Rich's) about 5.15. Evening prayer. Fine, with S.W. wind and occasional very slight showers.

July 10th and 11th were spent at Wairuna, the weather being wet. The Sunday was of course observed by the usual services.

² Now Milton.

³ This river is now called the Clutha, and is the largest and swiftest of New Zealand rivers.

July 12th, Monday.—From Wairuna. Left at 9. Called at Mr. Trimble's, where we continued the remainder of the day. Evening prayer. Fine day.

July 13th, Tuesday.—From Wairuna to Tuturau. Heavy mist and slight rain the greater part of the day. Left Mr. Trimble's about 11, and arrived at Tuturau 3.30. Evening prayer—"Woman of Samaria."—Occupants of stockman's hut—Tuturau: Mr. Edwin Rich, Mr. Pillans, Mr. Littleworth, Mr. Joyce, Jack the Maori, son of Kekau, and four quarters of a newly-slain bullock.⁴

July 14th, Wednesday.—Forded the Mataura, and arrived at Mr. Stewart's about 1. Evening prayer. Frost in the morning. Fine throughout.

July 15th, Thursday.—From Mr. Stewart's to Invercargill. Started about 10. Sharp frost. Arrived at Invercargill by the old route 6.30. Evening prayer. Fine throughout.

After one day at Invercargill, marked by visits and baptisms, the bishop proceeded to what was then the limit of settlement in the southwestward direction—Jacob's River township (now known as Riverton).

July 17th, Saturday.—From Invercargill to Jacob's River 7. Started at 5 a.m. by boat for the New River. Arrived at Mitchell's at 10. Left at 11.30, and arrived opposite Mr. Taylor's house at 4 o'clock. Showers frequent. Walk first part through swamp and over rough sandhills, and about 11 miles of hard sand. Evening prayer.

The day after this long and arduous journey, being Sunday, the bishop held two services at Jacob's River, one in a store and one in a private house. They were both well attended. He also baptised three children and officiated at a funeral.

⁴ To all these must of course be added the bishop himself and his son !

July 19th, Monday.—From Jacob's River to Invercargill. Left at 9. Arrived at Mitchell's 1 o'clock,—four hours steady walking. South-wester and rain the last six miles. Thoroughly wet. Got tolerably dried at Mitchell's. Started in the boat about 2.15. Sailed nearly all the way under a south-west wind with hail and snow. Ran upon a sandbank : detained about 30 minutes. Arrived at Invercargill 6.30.

The remainder of this eventful day was filled up by a marriage and an evening service!

July 20th, Tuesday.—From Invercargill to Stewart's. Started about 10; arrived 5.15. Evening prayer. Fine day.

July 21st, Wednesday.—Started in a south-wester. Crossed the Mataura in a canoe, swimming our horses. Well wetted. Remained at Tuturau the rest of the day. Evening prayer. Rain more or less throughout the day.

July 22nd, Thursday.—From Tuturau to Wairuna. Started 9.30. Arrived at Mr. Trimble's after crossing sundry creeks and streams very much swollen, and snow on the higher ground. Arrived at 6.

July 23rd, Friday.—From Wairuna to Mr. Maitland's. Started about 11, and arrived at the Molyneux at 4. River swollen: long swim. At Mr. Maitland's 5.25. Evening prayer. Fine day.

On Saturday he reached Tokomairiro and spent the Sunday there. Besides a morning service (at which 70 persons were present), with a celebration of the Holy Communion, the bishop confirmed six persons in the afternoon, and baptised three infants.

July 26th, Monday.—From Tokomairiro to Waihola Lake and Taieri Ferry. Arrived at Mr. Gillon's at 1 o'clock. Dined, and passed on to Harrold's. Evening prayer, 20 persons present.

July 27th, Tuesday.—From the Taieri Ferry to Dunedin. Arrived 3.30.

At Dunedin he was weather-bound for some days, but visited many of the leading citizens—Scotch as well as English,—and left on August 3rd for the north.

August 3rd, Tuesday.—From Dunedin to Metainika. Left Mr. Fenton's at 7 a.m. with the postman, and arrived at Cherry Farm 2.30, at Metainika 3.30. Evening prayer. Fine day throughout.

August 4th, Wednesday.—At Metainika. Went with Mr. Wyatt to Tumai. Visited the parsonage and church of Waikouaiti. Evening prayer. Fine day.

August 5th, Thursday.—Left at 10. Called at Goodwood. Arrived at Mr. Herslet's, Moerangi, 4.30. Fine day: slight rain at times. Found the pack mare dead. Place supplied by Lady Rowena, Mr. Jones' gift. Evening prayer.

August 7th, Saturday.—From Moerangi to Otopopo. Left about 10.30, and by an inland route reached the Otopopo. Stream and river high,—latter just over the saddle. Hospitably received by Mr. McGlasham. Evening prayer. Slight rain during the day.

Sunday was spent here in the usual way.

August 9th, Monday.—Otopopo to the Karhanui. Left at 10. Arrived at Mr. Teschemaker's 2.30, crossing with some trouble the Island Creek. Evening prayer.

August 10th, Tuesday.—At Mr. Teschemaker's. Evening prayer. Second anniversary of my consecration. Gloomy, but without rain.

August 11th, Wednesday.—From the Karhanui to Papakia. Left at 10. Arrived at Mr. Filleul's about 3. Evening prayer. Fine day.

August 12th, Thursday.—From Papakia to Mr. Pike's. Crossed the Waitangi in a boat, the Maoris taking the horses for 5s. each by the ford.

August 13th, Friday.—From Mr. Pike's to Pareora, Left Mr. Pike's at 9.30; at Mr. Studholme's 12. Waiau

high. Sun set before we had travelled across the sea-beach. Otaio high. Arrived at Pareora 7. Fine day.

August 14th, Saturday.—From Pareora to Mr. Macdonald's. Left Pareora at 10. Accommodation house kept by Messrs. Pollard and Stubbs. Arrived at Timaru at Mr. Woolcombe's 12.30; at the Arrowhenua; 3.30 at Mr. Macdonald's at 6.

August 15th, Sunday.—At Mr. Macdonald's.

August 16th, Monday.—Crossed the Rangitata and arrived at Messrs. Grey and Scott's about 2.30. Evening prayer.

The bishop now diverged from his former track, and travelled to the left along the foot of the hills. This was unknown country to him.

August 17th Tuesday.—Fog in the morning. Arrived at Mr. Rogers', Hinds (16 miles), 3 o'clock. Evening prayer.

August 18th, Wednesday.—From Mr. Rogers', Hinds, to Messrs. Kennaway and Delamaine's, Alford Station. Passed Mr. Reed's new station, and arrived at Messrs. K. and D.'s at 2.30. Dull morning and wet afternoon.

August 19th, Thursday.—From the Ashburton to the Rakaia. Horses lost. After fruitless search, left on horses lent by Messrs. Delamaine and Kennaway, Ashburton Forks, and arrived at Col. A. Lean's, Rakaia Gorge, about 5. Evening prayer. Fine day.

August 20th, Friday.—From Rakaia to Mr. Aylmer's. Crossed the Rakaia on the borrowed horses. L. returned in search of the horses. Proceeded on foot to Mr. Aylmer's—distance 11 miles. Stoney. Arrived in two hours and threequarters. Evening prayer—"Take no thought for the morrow." Fine day.

August 21st, Saturday.—Walked with Mr. Aylmer to Mr. Studholme's. Mr. Tripp arrived to dinner. Rode with him to the Malvern Hills.⁵ Evening prayer. Fine day.

⁵ The bishop, in conjunction with the late Sir Thomas Tancred, had taken up a station at the Malvern Hills, and one of his sons was installed there as manager.

August 22nd, Sunday.—Morning service at Homebush. Evening service at Mr. Aylmer's. L. arrived with the horses.

August 23rd, Monday.—From Mr. Aylmer's to Christchurch. Arrived about 7. *Deo gratiae.*

Before quitting this long journey, one point may be particularly noticed. The subject of the bishop's evening discourse on the last Friday, the day of his walk from the Rakaia, is markedly different from his usual selection. As a rule he based his exhortation upon one or other of the parables or miracles of the gospels : indeed, he confined himself for the most part to some five or six of these, all referring to the *duties* of the Christian life. But on this night he took as his text, "Take no thought for the morrow." We may well believe that his mind dwelt on the comfort of these words as he sent back his son with the borrowed horses across the Rakaia, and then set off for that solitary walk of eleven miles across the lonely plain. How vividly the picture stands out—the tall figure in episcopal costume swinging rapidly along over the stoney tussock plain ; the grave and thoughtful face lightened by the assurance that in spite of the uncertainty which hung over the rest of the journey, the means for finishing it would somehow be provided. "Take no thought for the morrow."

In connection with the loss of the bishop's horses, there is a passage in a book—now out of print—"Crusts," by Lawrence J. Kennaway, a gentleman who, with his partner Mr. Delamain,

was the occupant of the house in which the bishop stayed on the 18th. It gives so graphic a description of the incident from the entertainer's side, that it must be quoted entire:—

Just about this time our part of the country saw what it had certainly never seen before—a real, actual, very bishop—the bishop of Christchurch—step upon its soil. But he arrived very little as you would have supposed a bishop would come, and in very way-worn and sorry plight. He had been taking the first interior tour of his diocese; and on his way up from the extreme southern boundary had taken our station as a halting place on his route. But there had happened to his Lordship what will happen, in a new country, even to a bishop—he had lost his horse.

Now the grand up-country rule when you have lost your horse is a colonially-established maxim. It is this: '*Hump your saddle and look for him*,' which being translated into English English means simply, 'Lash your saddle to your shoulders by the stirrup leathers, like a knapsack, and just tramp till you find him—or do *not* find him—as the case may be.' But when the bishop arrived, foot-sore, cold, and way-worn, and without his horse, we saw at a glance that it was one of those brilliant exceptions which establish a rule, and was clearly a case in which all standing orders must be immediately waived in his favour.

We at once offered the bishop a fresh horse for the morning, we prepared for him our best bunk, we heaped fresh wood upon the hearth, insinuated that a well-hung saddle of mutton (the delicate aroma of which already floated from an adjoining cooking hut) would shortly appear, and, above all, my enthusiastic friend, and amateur Soyer, prepared for his Right Reverence his most enticing and finished gravy.

The bishop rested by our fire-side, slept soundly that night under our thatch roof, and breakfasted next morning with an appetite that brooked no trifling. Our horses were running four miles off, but we stock-yarded them soon after sunrise, took out and saddled a steady hack, and, while the day was yet early, saw our guest on his way, fresh mounted, and heard his good-bye with regret.

In 1860 the southern visitation was made during the summer months, and the rivers in consequence were often very high. On the way home the Waitaki was crossed on a dark evening during a heavy fresh, and the Rakaia in a north-wester gave the travellers "a hard pull." On the other hand, there was much to cheer. The session of the Rural Deanery Board of Otago lasted a week, and was "most satisfactory throughout." *Deo gratiæ, Deus benedicat*, are the emphatic expressions with which the bishop's journal entry closes. Again, on March 20th, he was called upon to consecrate a church at Waikouaiti. The service was followed by a luncheon in a store, and during the proceedings Mr. John Jones, who had already given the site and the money for the building, made the munificent offer of one section out of every three which should be sold in the new township he had laid out. The result of this was that sixty-four quarter-acre sections were made over to the bishop for church purposes, and the rental of these amounted ere long to £135 per annum.

The trip of 1861 was a somewhat adventurous one, and told on the bishop's health more perhaps than any other journey of his life. On the return from Invercargill he had a fall from his horse (*equo labente, illæsus D.G.*), but rode on and crossed the Mataura, in high flood, the same evening (April 1st). He arrived at Wairuna wet through, and at Dunedin "tolerably soaked." The Waitaki again

presented great difficulties. "Crossed the first stream by boat and fording. Mr. Bowen and Dick started for the northern bank. Dick carried down and landed with difficulty. Men returned and declined putting me across. Went back to Mr. Filleul's, leaving Horner (his other horse) on the island."

After these adventures he consecrated the church at Timaru, but was detained in an inactive state for some days at Mount Peel (the residence of his son-in-law, the Hon. J. B. A. Acland)—partly because the Rangitata was too high to be forded, but partly because he was too unwell to proceed with the journey. When at last he reached home he was invalided, and had to keep the house for a fortnight. This was, perhaps, the nearest approach to an illness that he ever experienced till the final break-up thirty-two years later.

In spite of all this, he paid another flying visit to Otago in the December of this same year. This was called for by the sudden outbreak of gold diggings at Waitahuna and Gabriel's Gully. His route lay, therefore, over new ground to a great extent. He had another fall from his horse near Invercargill; but he was able to address a congregation of 250 miners in the open air at Waitahuna.

In 1862, instead of a regular horseback visitation, he went direct from Lyttelton to Dunedin by steamer; and, after a short trip to Oamaru, laid the foundation-stone of the new St. Paul's Church, Dunedin, and held a meeting

of the Rural Deanery Board. In 1863 this church—a fine stone structure for those days, and now serving as pro-Cathedral of the diocese—was consecrated on Easter Day. The bishop this year penetrated as far as Queenstown, on Lake Wakatipu, and held a service in a canvas ship-building shed for the miners at that place.

During these years facilities for travelling were constantly increasing, and the bishop was able to take advantage of Cobb & Co.'s coaches in many parts. The benefit of these, however, was sometimes rather doubtful. Instead of being able to start at his own time, and to put up for the night at a hospitable settler's station, he was frequently compelled to start at a very early hour, to sit for a whole day on a leather-sprung vehicle, which jolted and jumped along wretched tracks, often in face of wind and rain, and at night to put up with the rough fare and noisy company of a hastily run-up inn or accommodation house. In 1864, for instance, he visited in this way the central Otago gold-fields at the Dunstan, holding services at Clyde and Alexandra. After his return to Dunedin, he set out afresh along his old southward route, and again reached Jacob's River. The weather was stormy and wet as he left Invercargill on his return journey ; and after 13 hours' coaching, he reached the Mataura at 11 p.m., where he and his companion, Mr. H. Dudley, had to put up with "wretched accommodation and fare." So bad, in fact, was the entertainment

he received here, that he felt it his duty to address a complaint to the Superintendent of Southland on the subject. Next day he was twelve hours on the road ; but, on account of a breakdown, most of the journey had to be performed on foot. Next day he left his inn—"good accommodation" this time—at 4 a.m. ; arrived at the Molyneux at 8.30 a.m., and was fortunate enough to get a lift on a springless butcher's cart, by which means he reached Tokomairiro by 1.30, and was able to spend Good Friday and Easter among his congregation there. At Dunedin he parted with his companion, and made his way northward by himself. He was suffering from inflammation in the eye, and was delayed at Oamaru by its painful condition, which obliged him to postpone a confirmation till the morrow of the day on which it was to have taken place.

Thinking of the many hardships to which he was exposed on this journey, it is interesting to read the following reminiscences communicated by the Rev. H. T. Dudley,⁶ his companion during the greater part of its course.

In looking back through the vista of all these long years that are past, I seem chiefly to remember the bishop's invariable patience and good temper amidst the many discomforts and trying situations which had to be faced. He was always genial and always most considerate.

Throughout these years the project of a separate bishopric for Otago and Southland was always kept in view ; and the bishop

⁶ Now Vicar of Whitfield, near Glossop, Derbyshire.

looked forward to the time when he should be able to hand over their rapidly-increasing populations to a bishop of their own. On this account he refrained from initiating any large schemes of a diocesan character. The premature consecration of Bishop Jenner, and the troubles which followed his arrival, delayed this consummation for some years ; but the Anglican Church advanced steadily and even rapidly under Bishop Harper's leadership ; and he was able to hand over the new diocese to Bishop Nevill in 1871, fairly supplied with buildings and with workers. The number of churches, in fact, stood at 14,⁷ and the number of clergy at 10.

In the farewell address presented to him by the Dunedin Synod in that year, loving mention is made of the hardships and perils which the bishop had cheerfully encountered ; of the untiring ministrations which had endeared him to the memory of his people ; of the wise discretion, gentle behaviour and Christian self-denying spirit which he had displayed in their synods, "often under the most difficult and trying circumstances ;" and of the many endearing acts which he had exhibited in private life.

⁷ Some of these were in course of erection only.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BISHOP AND THE DIGGERS.

“Mountain hoary,
Winding shore and deepening glen,
Where the landscape in its glory
Teaches truth to wandering men.”

—Keble:

FIVE years before the time when Bishop Harper was relieved of the southern portion of his diocese, his field of work was suddenly enlarged on the west. During 1864 rumours of gold deposits beyond the Alps had been growing more numerous and more confident. Early in 1865 all doubts were set at rest, and thousands of adventurous diggers found their way to that hitherto unknown strand. They came from Otago, from Canterbury, and from Nelson; from Melbourne and from Tasmania; from California, and even from old England. In March the influx began, and soon the river-beds, the creeks, the beaches, and the terraces were alive with miners' camps. Canvas towns sprang up at Hokitika, Greymouth, and many smaller mining centres. The population soon numbered something between 30,000 and 50,000—all, or almost all, being strong and adventurous men in the very prime of life, of various nationalities and religions, and all excited by the maddening thirst for gold.

Here was a mission-field suddenly set down at the door of sober, slow-moving, respectable Canterbury. No two populations could be more unlike, nor could there well be a greater difference (in the same latitude) than existed between the climate, the vegetation, and the products of the countries which they occupied. The Bishop had already come in contact with gold-diggers in his two last Otago tours, but he had never undertaken such a journey as that to the West Coast, nor had he had to deal with such a population as was now to be found there. He was now over 60 years of age, and might well have sent some younger man to do at least the pioneering work. Notwithstanding all these considerations, he determined to go forth in person; and the rush had not long set in before he prepared to cross the ranges on a mission tour to this new world of adventure and excitement. He started from his Malvern Hills station, with one of his younger sons, on September 1st, 1865, and followed, as far as it then reached, the magnificent road which the Canterbury Provincial Council so promptly carried through. Some impressions of his journey were fortunately collected by one of his daughters-in-law upon his return, and were embodied by her in a letter to a sister in England. From this letter we give the following extract. Its vivid narrative will enable the reader to fill in for himself the meagre outlines of the Bishop's diary, which shall be quoted later:

"Oct. 13, 1865,
Chch., N.Z.

" I told you in my last letter that the Bishop was gone to the West Coast, and now I will tell you how he went, and what he found when he got there—and please remember he is Aunt E.'s father, and you will be surprised, I think, at his being able to go through so much. He and G. went together, or we should never have heard of his doings, for the Bishop seemed to make nothing of them ; we heard the chief report from G.

" They started riding from the Malvern Hills, and, as is generally the case, had bad weather every day going over. Eighteen miles of the road is worse than you can possibly imagine without seeing it. Supposing there was no mud on the road, it would be like riding up and down stairs over roots and fallen trunks of trees, deep holes and boulder stones ; but imagine over this soft mud never below the horses' knees and sometimes over them, and all this through bush. It sounds pleasant, does it not ? Well, at the end of a day like this, rain continuing the while, they would have to sleep on the ground in a tent, with perhaps some dozen of diggers in a terrible state of intoxication, no means of changing their clothes, which were wet through, and nothing to be got to eat but bacon and biscuits. Once, while wading through the mud, the Bishop's horse stumbled and went over on its side (his leg under, of course), and the mud being soft the

horse could not get up alone, nor could he ; so they lay quite still, embedded in mud, as the Bishop says, "very comfortable," until G. came to their assistance.

"The rivers were very high, and one¹ they had to cross and recross some ten times. His Lordship is described thus :—A digger's swag or pack round his episcopal shoulders, in the peculiar way they carry them, and the two owners thereof hanging on to his legs, thus being dragged across the river, and we believe he would be there still, acting ferryman, if G. had not been there to insist on his proceeding. They were about five or six days getting over, all this time wet through, and when they arrived at Hokitika, the Bishop must, I fancy, have presented a sportsmanlike appearance, from the episcopal gaiters having become the colour of the mud. His hat, which I have seen, was in a very elegant condition ; he has offered it to me for my next riding hat. However, here he was able to obtain secular garments in which to array himself while his own were being dried.

"The town consists of one long street, the facings of the houses being pretty good, but often nothing behind but a miserable shanty, or a tent. He slept while here in a tent, having a partition ; the other half G. shared with a policeman. The only building large enough for service was a place called the Corinthian

¹ The Taipo, or "Devil," so called by the Maoris on account of its turbulent character.

Hall—the theatre and general public building of the place. It is a large corrugated iron room used for every purpose. Behind him was the platform with the scenery used in the plays—before him a regular bar, with rows of bottles of various names and shapes. The congregation either standing or seated on boxes or barrels. The service was announced the day before in the streets by two town criers : “O Yes ! etc., etc.,” both probably in the same state as the above-mentioned diggers, and trying to outvie each other in titles of honour to the Bishop—hoping to be rewarded accordingly.

“ He describes the scenery there as being very beautiful. He went in a boat up one river which was actually unmolested by the hand of man in any way. They reached a small lake surrounded by hills covered by thick bush down to the water’s edge—every beauty of which was reflected in the clear waters. Behind the low hills was a range of higher forest-covered hills, these over-topped by the back ranges of snowy mountains, and Mount Cook to crown the whole. It is so wonderful to think of so much grandeur and beauty waxing and waning with the seasons and no one there to admire it ; and when they go there for that or any other purpose it will be spoilt.

Well, they came back again with better weather, and from the point to which the coach goes, the Bishop came thereby. There were a number of discharged road-makers with £50 apiece coming down to spend it, and their idea

of rough respect to 'his reverence' was amusing and touching. One proposed with an oath that anyone who swore should be fined sixpence. This was carried out, though their idea of oaths was a strange one. They met a man who was a digger, who having no money was walking down, and they were immediately for making a subscription to take him on in the coach. In the meanwhile they quarrelled so much that the coach went on without him. All this shows how much good there is left in men who seem so utterly hard and rough, does it not? The Bishop always says he likes the real diggers very much, and certainly some I have seen passing through are very fine men.

"From all accounts it seems Hokitika will become a permanent town. The telegraph is nearly finished over to it, and the road is in process of making. L. is bent on going over to visit his old haunts and see the old scene where he spouted Greek Testament to the waves for the sake of company—under a very different aspect. Such changes gold and a few years produce."

We now give the Bishop's journal of this first West Coast tour :—

Sept. 1, Friday. From Malvern Hills to Otarama (Mt. Torlesse) Mr. Enys' station. South-west weather part of the way. A little snow at night and frost in the morning. 35 miles. Slept at Mr. Enys' station.

Sept. 2, Sat. Fine day throughout. From Otarama to Grassmere—Mr. Hawdon's station.

September 3, Sunday. Grassmere. Wet in the morning; fine in the afternoon. Evening service. Parables of the Importunate Widow, Pharisee and Publican.

Sept. 4, Mon. From Grassmere. Fine throughout. To Mr. E. Jones'—junction of Bealey and Waimakariri, 12 miles. Dined at Jones', then on to Wright's camp. Arrived about 5 p.m., passing by Smith's camp.

Sept. 5, Tues. Wet morning. Left Wright's camp about 11. Down the Otira Gorge, rough river bed, two miles per hour, thence through bush track. Arrived at Blake's camp, 5.30. Showery throughout. Slept in tent very comfortably—rained heavily during the night—strong wind towards morning.

Sept. 6, Wed. Fine with drying wind. In Blake's camp all day. The Taipo impassable.

Sept. 7, Thurs. Doubtful all the morning; wet in the afternoon. From Blake's camp through Bush, crossing the Teremakau and Taipo. Bush bad. Up and down hill through swampy ground. Arrived at McClintock's store—hospitably received and fed. Slept in bunk. Rained more or less all night.

Sept. 8, Fri. From McClintock's to Hokitika, through bad bush road (7 miles) and across the Arahura 13 times, thence along road (sand) to Hokitika 5 miles. Wet all day, but not the worse for it—D.G. After changing clothes went out with Mr. Sale to look about the place.

Sept. 10, Sunday. Hokitika. Morning service in Corinthian Hall. Preached Matt. xi. 16, &c. 'To whom shall I liken, etc.' Evening service at 7. 'What is your life?' (a good congregation).

Sept. 11, Mon. Walked with G. to Kanieri. After luncheon went with Mr. Sale and G. in boat to lagoon. (River 6 miles, Lagoon 3 miles long, 2½ broad).

Sept. 12, Tues. (Baptisms, &c.) Church meeting at the Café de Paris. Subscriptions £84/8/6.

Sept. 13, Wed. Called on Mr. G. Harper—Wesleyan Minister.

Sept. 17, Sunday. Corinthian Hall—Morning service—‘Unforgiving servant.’ Holy Communion in Court House, 17 communicants. Evening service—‘Parable of the Talents.’

Sept. 18, Mon. From Hokitika to McClintock’s. Arrived 6.30 after desperate ride and floundering through bush. The Arahura lower than when we came over.

Sept. 19, Tues. From McClintock’s to the Terrace (Alexandra), crossing the Waimea, Rangiriri, Taipo, Teremakau. Bush track wretched. Rivers low. Lunched at the Taipo. No eatables at the Terrace excepting those kindly furnished by Messrs. Preston and Bradley. Slept on a wooden *gridiron*.

(Flowers, the postman, washed down the Teremakau—his horses falling when fording it. Flowers by a desperate effort managed to scramble out. His horse fell with him twice).

Sept. 20, Wed. From the Teremakau to the junction of the Waimakiriri and Bealey. Road good—especially in the Otira Gorge. (Slept in Jones’ tent).

Sept. 21, Thurs. From Junction of Bealey and Waimakariri to Christchurch by Coach. Started 5 a.m. At Christchurch 9.30 p.m. G. returned with horses to Malvern Hills.

In 1866 the Bishop spent nearly three months upon the coast (June 9th to August 23rd). The Bishop of Nelson (Dr Hobhouse) being prevented by illness from visiting that portion of Westland which lay within his diocese, Bishop Harper undertook the oversight of the Grey Valley, in addition to the southern gold-fields. But his headquarters were again at Hokitika, and here he carried on diligent pastoral work. Though not musical, he superintended the choir practice, and alludes with satisfaction to the first attempt at chanting.

He worked hard at the preparatory steps towards the erection of a permanent church and parsonage. The Court House and the Corinthian Hall were very well in their way, but when the sound of a cork drawn behind the bar broke in upon the quiet of the service, the result was not altogether favourable. After many efforts an influential committee was formed, and before the bishop left Hokitika the immediate building of both church and parsonage-house had been undertaken. In July the mining community was shocked at the report of a horrible murder committed by a gang of bushrangers near Greymouth. The victim, George Dobson, who belonged to a well-known Christchurch family, was a young surveyor, who was mistaken for the gold-collector of the district. The Bishop was busy with his Saturday night's preparation when the news arrived. Sunday morning was wet, but he set off on horseback at 8.30, and fording the rivers Arahura and Teremakau, arrived at Greymouth soon after mid-day. He officiated at the funeral, which took place in the afternoon two miles from Greymouth. He then conducted evening service in the town, preaching from the appropriate text, "What is your life?" On the next day he rode back to Hokitika under continuous rain, and was compelled to swim the rivers, now too high for his horse to ford.

On his way home he experienced both the pleasures and the trials of travelling by coach.

Starting at 3 a.m. on a beautiful morning, with no other passengers, he reached the Cass at 5 p.m. Next morning, however, the vehicle broke down at 5.30, just after starting. He reached Castle Hill by 10.30, but was compelled to stay there for the rest of that day and for the greater part of the day following. He did not arrive at Bishopscourt till 2 o'clock on the morning of the fourth day, and recorded the close of this long absence from his home with the emphatic words—*Deo Opt. Max. gratiæ.*

In 1869 he extended his travels as far as Ross, boating thither from Hokitika by way of the Mahinapua Lake and the Totara Lagoon. He had appointed his eldest son to the cure of Hokitika, and the Church had acquired a strong position in the affection of the miners. Writing from this town in 1870 to a relative in England, the Bishop describes the various social gatherings which always formed a great feature of his visits :—

As the Sunday on which I attended the church was regarded as a high day, the services were intoned and conducted, both by minister and choir, in a manner which would have surprised a stranger suddenly arriving at this distant corner of the world, and what is more the congregation seemed to go heartily with it, without any apprehension of being entrapped into popery. . . .

We had a great tea-fight or soirée, at which nearly 800 persons were present, avowedly in honour of my visit, but in reality, as a token of the respect and affection in which he (the Archdeacon) is held.

I spent four days, last Sunday included, at Ross. I held a confirmation there: the candidates chiefly males above the age of 20, and of course was welcomed at

another soirée, very nicely conducted, and where all things went off most harmoniously, though the company was composed of all religious denominations, Jews included.

In 1873 the Bishop (now Primate of New Zealand, and so having some responsibility for other dioceses than his own) combined his West Coast tour with one through the provinces of Nelson and Marlborough. He was now in his seventieth year, but cheerfully undertook a rough journey through the mountainous region between the Hurunui River and the north of the island. After visiting Greta Peaks and other stations in North Canterbury, he entered the Nelson Diocese, travelled over the Whale's Back, and crossed the Conway during the course of a ten hour's ride. At Kaikoura he laid the foundation-pile of a church, and confirmed seventeen candidates; visited Flaxbourne and Starborough, and, crossing the Awatere river, arrived at Blenheim. Proceeding to Nelson, whose bishop was absent from the colony, he held a Synod there, took part in a Maori *Korero* at Motueka, and officiated in many of the churches both in town and country; then travelled by steamer to Westport, Greymouth, and Hokitika, and after the usual services and monster tea gatherings in the mining townships of his own diocese, returned to Christchurch by the overland route.

Nearly every year saw the aged Bishop on the West Coast. Nowhere, in fact, was he more popular than among the warm-hearted

diggers. In 1877 he was accompanied by his son, the Archdeacon, who had now left Hokitika for Timaru. They received a perfect ovation as they drove up Revell street. Though they had been on the road since 5 in the morning, there was no time for rest; the bell was already ringing for evening service as the coach drew up at its destination, and the church was filled with worshippers eager to see and hear their bishop and their first pastor. In spite of his long and fatiguing journey, the Bishop was up next morning at 6 o'clock, his usual hour, and took a turn on the beach before breakfast.² A few days later he conducted Sunday services at Stafford and at Goldsborough, then driving on to the new Kumara goldfield, he held a confirmation in the Theatre, in the presence of 500 people.

Westland is not now what it was in the palmy days of the diggings. The population has greatly decreased; the old exuberant life has largely died away. It may interest some West Coast settlers to know that the Bishop held such a high opinion of its attractions that he looked forward to a permanent population of well-to-do people who should live there simply for the pleasure of enjoying its scenery and climate.

"There is a balmy atmosphere on this side which will attract those who have means to support their families, and though the soil is apparently little better than that you might

² I owe this fact to the Rev. Canon Pascoe.

expect at the bottom of the ocean which washes these shores—and at one time, before the growth of its exuberant vegetation and forest, must have been like it (that is, a soil composed of small and large boulder stones, grit, and sand, with something like clay but so adhesive that the miners call it ‘concrete’), really beautiful gardens with flowers, vegetables, fruit-trees, and choice shrubs may be found here, under the hand of some industrious labourer. How it is managed I can hardly say. There must be a certain deposit of vegetable matter from the dense forests and shrubs—though all appear to be evergreens—and if there are worms in it, as I suppose there are, they must be making some good soil adapted to cultivation, according to Darwin.”³

But, whatever the future of this interesting country may be, it is safe to predict that as long as any representatives of the first generation of its diggers and settlers remain, the memory of the pioneer bishop will be held in warm and grateful remembrance.

³ Letter written from Hokitika, February 8th, 1887.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BISHOP IN COUNCIL.

"Men of the greatest gifts and the most exalted piety have tried to reform mankind by their own spiritual energy and individual zeal ; but their work too often died with themselves, because it built up no system to endure to future generations."

"Synodical action is not, as some suppose, a vain attempt to supply by material organisation, the defects of inward life ; but it is the result of a conviction, founded upon the records of the Apostolic Church, that the inward life must not be separated in practice from the external unity of the body of Christ."

—Bishop Selwyn.

NATURAL and indeed inevitable as Church Government through synod and committee appears to us at the present day, it was by no means so clear to the minds of churchmen half a century ago. Bishop Harper arrived in New Zealand at a time when the status and constitution of the colonial Church were still quite undefined. No leading principle had as yet emerged. Was the Imperial government to exercise ecclesiastical authority in New Zealand, as it was doing in the crown colonies, and as it had already done to some extent in Australia ? Or was the task to be committed to the local legislatures which these colonies now possessed ? Or, on the other hand, was the Church to be freed from government control altogether ? If so, how was it to govern itself so as to secure the exercise of discipline and the safe tenure of its property ? These and other questions were

pressing for an answer; nor was the right answer easy to discover. Bishops were selected by the Colonial Office and sent out from home apparently possessed of absolute powers; yet in practice these powers were found to be inoperative, or at best uncertain. The colonial churches went on their way without any serious trouble, simply because they ran in a groove worn deep by the custom of centuries. But the groove was becoming irksome. There was really nothing whatever to prevent freedom of action, except ingrained conservatism and the dread of the unknown. Yet these forces were strong—too strong to be overcome except gradually and under the steady pressure of events. Nevertheless, the next twelve years saw an entire change in the situation. Phantom authorities were dispelled, real ones were created; false principles were repudiated, true principles were discovered; English common-sense, enlightened by Christian ideals, and guided by the study of antiquity, triumphed over legal fictions, ignorant prejudice, and the alarm which is always roused by the prospect of anything new.

The master-mind to which the colonial Church in general, and that of New Zealand in particular, is indebted for this happy result was unquestionably that of Bishop Selwyn. With him statesmanship and constitution-building were almost a passion. The part played by Bishop Harper was distinctly secondary. But it was an important part nevertheless. In fact, much of the success of Selwyn's system was due to

the loyal and tactful way in which his colleague supported and applied it. It will not be necessary to occupy much of this biography with constitutional and synodical questions, but some explanation of the general position is necessary in order to show how Canterbury and its Bishop modified the course of Church history in New Zealand.

Going back once more to Bishop Harper's Letters Patent, there is certainly no trace to be found in them of the uncertainty to which allusion has just been made. The law officers of the crown had a fairly complete theory of the way in which the colonial Church was to be managed. The bishop was to have absolute power over his clergy as far as concerned their morals and behaviour, and this power he might exercise through a formidable hierarchy of officials—Archdeacons, Vicars-general, Official Principals and Rural Deans—whose appointment lay in his hands alone. He himself, however, was to be subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sydney "in the same manner as the Bishops of Newcastle, Adelaide, Melbourne and Tasmania are now subject thereto," and over all was to rest the general superintendance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the ultimate appeal should lie. The scheme was symmetrical and comprehensive, but it belonged to cloudland. None of the authorities mentioned had any legal means of making himself obeyed. Representative institutions had been granted to the colonies,

and none of them had recognised or created any Church establishment. Consequently, the imposing array of ecclesiastical authorities was a mere phantom. No one could be compelled to obey the power to which he was supposed to be subject. The organisation of the colonial churches had to be built up afresh on a democratic basis. "Voluntary compact" was the new principle which solved the difficulty. But its application was only beginning to be recognised, and that in a hesitating and cautious manner, when Bishop Harper arrived in New Zealand with his Letters Patent, which were already out of date when he stepped upon its shore.

The legal connection with England was never in fact a real one. The Home government did not even try to make it a reality. A few years made the position so clear that in 1865 the New Zealand Bishops petitioned the Crown to accept the surrender of their Letters Patent "now declared to be null and void." Nor was the connection with Australia any more real. Some religious bodies (e.g. the Wesleyans) have adopted the plan of one organisation for the whole of Australasia, but not so the Anglican Church. For good or for evil New Zealand Churchmen have refused to be bound by any formal bonds to their neighbours across the Tasman Sea, just as, of late years, their colony has declined to enter the Australian Commonwealth. In fact, the tendency was all the other way. The course of this narrative will show

that there was at one time considerable danger lest the New Zealand settlements themselves should fly apart. All the statesmanship, the tact, the good sense of bishops, clergy, and leading laity were needed to hold together even the tiny population which these islands then contained.

At the moment of Dr. Harper's arrival the time had come for a first serious step in the framing of a Church constitution. Bishop Selwyn had already sketched its main outlines, and had submitted them to the criticism of clergy and laity in the different settlements. In most quarters they met with nothing but approval. The only real criticism came from Christchurch and Lyttelton. It was friendly and courteous in character, but so pronounced as to make it quite evident that Canterbury Churchmen had definite ideas of their own and were not likely to give a blind assent to any scheme, however ably conceived or powerfully recommended. Their criticisms, together with the draft constitution itself, and some few suggestions from other quarters, were now to be compared and discussed by a conference composed of delegates from every part of the country.

As soon as the bishop had visited the settled portions of his new diocese, he was called to attend this important meeting. In company with the Rev. J. Wilson and the Hon. H. J. Tancred, he left Lyttelton in the s.s. *Zingari*, on April 23rd, 1857. As far as Nelson he had the company of a number of gold-diggers—a

class with whom he was to have close relations hereafter. His present goal, however, was Auckland, and the work before him would call for balanced wisdom rather than the rough and ready speech which diggers love. The Conference opened on May 14th, at St. Stephen's Chapel, Taurarua, Auckland, and, after several days' earnest discussion, put forth the Constitution, on the 13th of June. In its essential points it is substantially the same as that which is still in force. In fact, the Conference did its best to tie the hands of the New Zealand Church for all future time by laying down what are known as the "Fundamental Provisions." These were to be beyond the power of any General Synod, to alter, revoke, add to, or diminish. As a matter of history, these clauses have stood unchanged from that day to this, and will apparently continue so to stand until some crisis arises which will force the living church to assert its inherent rights, and no longer to consider itself bound by a document drawn up in 1857 by seventeen men, however wise, and representing, however faithfully, the infant settlements of the colony.

The Conference was marked (at least outwardly) by complete unanimity, and the Canterbury representatives travelled back to Lyttelton in the Primate's yacht. The assertion was afterwards made that they had been "trapped" into adhesion to a scheme which they did not thoroughly understand, but for the

present the strongest feeling was one of thankfulness that so many difficulties had been overcome, and that the Church had at length begun to recognise her inherent spiritual rights.

The first General Synod of the New Zealand branch of the Church was held in Wellington, during the months of March and April 1859. Bishop Selwyn presided as Metropolitan, and was supported not only by the Bishop of Christchurch but by the Bishops of the sees of Wellington and Nelson, which had been constituted since the Conference of 1857. Besides its bishop, Canterbury sent the Rev. C. Alabaster and Mr (now Sir John) Hall, both of whom took an active part in the business.¹ Bishop Harper was assiduous in his attendance throughout. As if with a premonition of coming difficulties, his efforts were chiefly directed towards securing greater power of self-government to the different dioceses, and also to the settlements which (like Otago) had not yet attained a complete diocesan status. The

¹ In various copies of reports of this first synod appears an unofficial MS document (author unknown) which throws an interesting side light upon the attitude of the lay mind—at least in one of its moods. The algebraical symbols in line six are substituted for the name of a member whose manner of speaking was of a sing-song character—

“ And the Synod never flitting,
Still is sitting, still is sitting,
Whilst aye on weary hinges hangs
The Council Chamber door,
And like a bagpipe’s droning
Sounds X. Y. Z’s intoning
Whilst autumn’s winds are moaning
For the summer past and o’er,
But that row of bishops’ gaiters
Shall be lifted from that floor
Nevermore.”

Synod did a great deal of important business, and worked out many of the details which the Constitution had left undefined.

A few months later Bishop Harper summoned the first Synod of the diocese of Christchurch. He was as thorough a believer in synodical government as Selwyn himself—perhaps even more so when it came to actual practice—and his belief comes out strongly in his opening address. This address is so important, both from the unique occasion of its pronouncement and from the insight it gives into the mind of its author, that the first few paragraphs must be quoted here at length :—

“ My Reverend Brethren, and my Brethren of the Laity,—

It is now just three years since that, with no slight feeling of responsibility and consciousness of my own defects, I entered upon the office of Bishop of this newly formed Diocese. But I was aware of the efforts which were being made in these colonies to obtain for the Church a system of government, which, while it would secure to the Bishops their due share of lawful authority, would bring to their assistance the counsel and co-operation of the Clergy and Laity ; and I knew also that the members of our communion in this province were among the foremost in endeavouring to promote this. Whatever, therefore, might be the difficulties of my position, and my own personal inability to meet them, I could not but trust that, as God in His Providence had seemed to have called me to this office, it was my duty to undertake it ; and I did so, nothing doubting but that the good work which had already been begun would in due time be completed, and that I should find myself not standing alone, with an authority undefined and almost incapable of application, or aided only by counsellors selected by myself, but surrounded and supported

by the representatives of the Church, both clerical and lay.

And without such assistance as this, it seems to me that a Bishop in the colonies is scarcely able to accomplish the purposes of his office. It is true that he has the power according to the ancient canons of the Church to call together the Synod of the Clergy and to take counsel with them ; and it is quite possible that with them he might frame plans and regulations suited in every respect to the wants and circumstances of the diocese ; but without the intelligent hearty assent of the Laity these could not be safely or fully carried out ; and to obtain that assent something more is necessary than that certain measures should be put into operation, sanctioned and recommended by their spiritual pastors. In saying this, I am not imputing to the Lay members of the Church in these colonies any want of respect for the decisions of their Bishops and clergy, or any lack of confidence in their judgment. If I may speak from my own experience, there has been a very general readiness on the part of the laity to comply with the suggestions of myself and my clerical brethren ; but this compliance, I am persuaded, would have been much more general and effectual for good if we had had the same opportunity which, through the providence of God, we shall now have, of consulting with them, and securing their co-operation through their representatives. In a new country like this, this is especially necessary, since the Church has to adapt herself to circumstances to which we have been little accustomed ; to make unusual and, as it may seem to some, irregular efforts to bring home to her people her teaching and ordinances ; and the means, moreover, for effecting this must be provided to a great extent by the voluntary contributions of her lay members. It seems, therefore, but a matter of simple justice, as well as essential to our success, that they should have direct voice in the deliberations of the Church, and a due share in the administration of its affairs.

Besides this, we must never forget that it is the duty of the Church to be ever aiming at a higher standard of religious life, and building up her children in her most holy faith ; and that, in order to do this, she must endeavour to

maintain a godly discipline among all her members, clerical and lay, and stir up the minds of all to greater efforts after godliness, and to more active participation in the works of piety and charity ; and in so doing must expect to run counter to many received practices and opinions, and perhaps provoke the opposition of several who are satisfied with things as they are. She needs, therefore, the loving counsel and support of all who are alive to their Christian duties ; she certainly cannot dispense with the services of her lay members, whose duty it is, equally with those who are set apart for sacred offices, to maintain and set forward true religion. And as a means of awakening in all a lively interest in their duty, and of combining and directing their energies in the right of fulfilment of it, such a Synod as this, in which the Bishop, Clergy and Laity, by their representatives, meet together to take counsel with each other must surely prove effectual, if only we meet seeking and relying on God's blessing, and with a single eye to His glory and the good of His Church.

It is therefore with much thankfulness that I see my lay brethren forming a part of our Diocesan Synod, and thus occupying with myself and the clergy a definite position as joint counsellors and legislators of the Church of this Diocese. Our business here is one and the same ; it is to labour for the common good, and to be fellow Helpers with each other in endeavouring to promote it. There may be differences of offices, of responsibilities, and of administrations, but neither these nor any necessary division of labour must be permitted to lead to any selfish division of interest. The interest which your Bishop is bound to take in the welfare of the whole Diocese, must be shared in by all, though by residence and other circumstances you may be more especially connected with some particular portion of it. You are representatives, not only for this or that locality or congregation, but of the whole Church of the Diocese ; and the more our minds are enlarged to look upon all parts of it as entitled to our care and attention—the less wrapped up we are in local and private interests—the more fully and faithfully we shall discharge our duties and bring a blessing upon ourselves and others. I look upon it as one great advantage which is to be gained by the establishment of

this Diocesan Synod, that it has a direct tendency to counteract that spirit of selfishness which so often leads men, almost unconsciously, to seek what seems to them their own good, to the neglect of what is really the profit of the many."

Passing to the question of the relation of each diocese to the General Synod of New Zealand, that question which was to be the cause of so much difficulty in the immediate future, the Bishop proceeded :—

" And on similar grounds I think it is a matter of thankfulness that we are associated under the General Synod with other Dioceses in these islands. It is, I believe, peculiar to the Church of these colonies² that the efforts to obtain for it the means of self-government should have had a reference first to the whole body rather than to its separate parts ; that the General Synod should have been called into operation before the Diocesan Synod. This, no doubt, if we look to human causes, was owing to the fact that until the last three years the Church here was under the pastoral care of one Bishop, who keenly alive to the need of some system of Church government, never ceased to labour until he had succeeded in organising it. It was but natural, therefore, that the Church in these islands should be regarded and dealt with as one body, and that the exertions of those Churchmen who sympathised with their Bishop should be directed under the same wise Master Builder in building up a system of Church government,—applicable indeed to the several Dioceses, and to be worked out chiefly through them,—but one and the same throughout, and binding together in one the whole Church of these islands. I repeat, my brethren, that I think that there is much cause for thankfulness in this, since not only do we now meet together with certain rules and principles already laid down for our guidance, and therefore are enabled at once to address ourselves to the peculiar wants and circumstances of this Diocese, and to attend without distraction to what may be considered needful for its welfare, but we are working, as it were, side by side with our brother Churchmen

² i.e. the different settlements in New Zealand.

in the other Dioceses of these islands, and are aiming not only at the same high ends, but in all essential points according to the same rules.

And though it may seem that, because we are acting under the authority of the General Synod, some restriction thereby is laid upon our liberty, yet I do not hesitate to say that it is a restriction which ought to be welcomed, since, by God's blessing, it will effectually prevent any legislation on our part which might interfere with the general interests of the Church, and therefore of necessity prove injurious to ourselves. We are left at full liberty to pursue any course or to adopt any measure which may seem to us expedient for the welfare of this Diocese, and are only so far restrained that we are not able to do anything which might separate us from our brethren in the other colonies of these islands, and disturb that unity of feeling and of action which ought ever to prevail among the members of the same body. I believe that this union of the several Dioceses under the same system of Church government will enable us the better to fulfil our mission as portions of the Church Militant upon earth; and that being thus fitly joined together and compacted of that which every joint supplieth according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, we shall, through the grace of Christ, which will never be wanting to those who cleave to Him with a living faith and in the unity of the Spirit, make increase of the body to the edifying of ourselves in love."

This paragraph will serve to introduce some notice of the struggle which has been already hinted at. A full account may be found in more formal treatises, such as Dean Jacobs' *History of the Church in New Zealand*. Nothing further will be attempted here than a simple relation of the chief events, together with some attempt to find out their causes and to estimate their significance. The struggle must have occupied much of the Bishop's thought in the intervals of his practical duties during the next

six years, and must have given him many an anxious hour before the final satisfactory settlement in 1865.

Like some other ecclesiastical disputes which have filled a large place in history, the contest between Bishop Selwyn and the Canterbury Churchmen seems at first sight like "a battle of kites and crows." Its precise meaning is, indeed, not easy to discover. A study of the contemporary documents leaves upon the mind an impression that there was something more in the background than was allowed to come to the front. Doubtless it was to some extent a matter of personal antipathies. Like the struggle between Roman and Celtic Christianity which occupies so prominent a place in the early history of the mother-land, this small dispute seems to turn on questions not worthy of the energy bestowed upon them. *There* it was a difference as to the correct shape of the tonsure and as to the manner of calculating the date of the Easter moon. *Here* it was a difference of opinion as to how, and by whom, certain Church property trustees were to be appointed. But as in the one case what was really at stake was the right of a local church to preserve its independence against the imperial despotism of papal Rome, so in the other the issue really involved was the right of a single diocese to act independently of a larger authority. Canterbury stood for local independence and for the rights of the diocese: Bishop Selwyn for local subordination and the rights of the province.

AT THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1865.



Photo by Dr. Barker.

The Primate (Bp. Selwyn). Bp. Harper. Bp. Abraham. Bp. Patteson.
Bp. Williams.

As far back as 1855 Bishop Selwyn had found that no help could be looked for from the imperial government in the matter of organising the Church in a colony which possessed representative institutions. He had determined, therefore, to use the Church's property as a machine for enforcing discipline. In 1856 he had obtained from the colonial legislature an Act (whose provisions were suggested by those of the Wesleyan Trust Deed) which empowered any religious body to appoint trustees who should hold and administer its property. In order to exercise this right there must, of course, be some representative assembly to act for the body in question—an assembly to which the members should give their voluntary adhesion. By this Act the Constitution of 1857 was made possible. Under its provisions the General Synod, and the General Synod alone, was empowered to appoint trustees for property belonging to the Anglican Church in New Zealand. Now Canterbury possessed more Church property than all the rest of New Zealand put together, and Canterbury could never bring itself to place this property in the hands of trustees appointed by the General Synod. Canterbury Churchmen had made sacrifices to endow their church ; they looked upon these endowments as their own ; and they could not but dislike the idea of transferring them to the administration of men who would owe their appointment to an assembly

chiefly composed of delegates from other parts of New Zealand.

It was, perhaps, an ominous sign that only one of the Canterbury clergy—and he an assistant curate—attended the first General Synod in 1859; it was certainly nothing short of an open declaration of hostility when not one representative, either clerical or lay, could be found to attend the second, which was held at Nelson in 1862. Bishop Harper accordingly had to go alone to this gathering, but he carried with him a petition from his diocese praying that such an alteration might be made in the Deed of Constitution as would enable the diocesan synod to nominate and appoint its own trustees. The Christchurch Synod, in fact, asked that there should be, not one but, two bodies legally authorised to appoint trustees—one the General Synod of the Colony, the other the Synod of the diocese of Christchurch.

This request was refused, but an attempt was made at a compromise. The Synod passed a statute constituting a special Board of Trusts for the Christchurch diocese. It was to consist of three members appointed as before by the General Synod, but it might be enlarged by the addition of one clergyman and one layman *recommended* by the Christchurch Synod, and of two other members *recommended* by the Rural Deanery Board of Otago. This well-meant attempt utterly failed. The General Synod appointed its three members, Otago

recommended its two additional men, but Christchurch would neither nominate members nor hand over its property. Instead of abating, the dispute became more bitter. Christchurch would have complete independence in the Trust matter or nothing. Not content with the protests upon the main point at issue, Canterbury Churchmen examined the constitution afresh and fastened eagerly upon any fault which they could find. It was, in fact, open to criticism of more kinds than one. Bishop Selwyn's 'property basis' and 'voluntary compact,' though intended only to satisfy legal requirements, were unduly and unpleasantly prominent in its language. To the minds of some in Canterbury the 'voluntary compact' meant an enforced submission to an authority which they had come to dislike; the 'property basis' meant taking away the foundation upon which their own property rested. But there were others in whom the language of the constitution and its preamble awoke misgivings of a deeper kind. It seemed to suggest an absence of lawful authority and an unspiritual insistence on externals. And the General Synod, thus surrounded with an atmosphere at once of insecurity and of legality, was to be the fountain-head of all lesser authorities. Diocesan Synods were to possess only a delegated power. This was the point which brought together the two classes of opponents—those who resented interference with their property and those who craved for an authority more spiritual and more

in accordance with ecclesiastical tradition. Their united cry was—Give us diocesan independence. If the constitution can be so altered as to recognise the inherent rights of the diocese, then we are willing to continue the connection with the rest of New Zealand ; but if not, we will sever ourselves from it altogether and appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury for separate recognition as an independent branch of the Anglican communion.

Bishop Harper's position was a peculiarly difficult one. He had signed the Constitution and would abide by it loyally. Moreover, he was genuinely convinced that its ideal was the true one. But he could not separate himself from his diocese. On September 23rd, 1862, a special meeting of the Church Property Trustees was held, previous to the opening of the Diocesan Synod. It was proposed to transfer the Church property to the General Synod. "The measure could have been carried" (wrote the Bishop) "had I voted (used both my votes)." He did not vote, but the opposition did not abate, and the Bishop stood more and more alone. In the following year he was confronted in synod with a solid phalanx of clergy and laity, who brought forward a number of carefully worded resolutions which he felt himself bound to veto. Before they were brought forward, however, he made a dignified and conciliatory statement as to the course he was prepared to adopt.

The statement was as follows :—

"The Bishop, taking into his consideration the relations in which he stands to the General Synod under the Deed of Constitution, is unable to take any action in the Synod in reference to the resolutions on Church Trusts. He is, however, prepared so far to carry out the wishes of the Clergy and Laity as to forward to the Standing Commission and the members of all the Synods of the Ecclesiastical Province, any resolutions on Church Trusts which they may think fit to adopt, together with a correct extract from the minutes of those proceedings of the Synod which have a reference to the resolutions, and to other matters bearing upon the question at issue. And further, if at the next meeting of the General Synod no alteration in the Deed of Constitution be adopted, under which the relations now subsisting between the General Synod and the Synod of Christchurch can be satisfactorily maintained, the Bishop will join with the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese, and with their representatives in the General Synod, in an application to that body to be released from the compact under which this Diocese is now associated with it."

The Synod now went into committee, and the resolutions (carefully prepared by a select committee) were brought forward by the Rev. J. (afterwards Archdeacon) Wilson, and seconded by the Rev. H. Jacobs, the Hon. H. J. Tancred, and the Rev. J. Raven, respectively.

In their final form they ran as follows :—

- (1) "That the peace and welfare of the Diocese require the speedy settlement of its Church Property Trusts on a Diocesan basis." The Bishop, No ; the Clergy : Ayes, 14, Noes, 0 ; the Laity : Ayes, 14, Noes, 1.
- (2) "That in the opinion of this Synod the Church Constitution is so faulty in theory, and doubtful in legality, that unless the General Synod can concur in seeking for a better, the Churchmen of this Diocese must take measures to secure their diocesan rights, and put their own affairs on a better footing." The

- Bishop, No ; the Clergy: Ayes, 13, Noes, 0 ; the Laity: Ayes, 14, Noes, 1.
- (3) "That though fully convinced, in reference to the pending dispute between the Synod of Christchurch and the General Synod, of what is necessary to be done, and prepared to do it, the Synod defers until after the next Session of the General Synod, any application to the Provincial Council or the General Assembly, or any endeavour to re-organise the Diocese on a new footing." The Bishop, No ; the Clergy : Ayes, 12, Noes, 0 ; the Laity : Ayes, 13, Noes, 0.
- (4) "That the Synod looks upon separation of the Diocese of Christchurch from the General Synod as inevitable, unless its requirements are conceded ; and that it delays the step, not for the purpose of negotiation, but in the hope that the reasonableness of its demands may be seen, and measures initiated in consequence beneficial to the whole Church." The Bishop, No ; the Clergy : Ayes, 12, Noes, 0 ; the Laity, Ayes, 12, Noes, 1.

The resolutions were of course lost through the Bishop's veto, but in accordance with his promise they were communicated by him to the other dioceses. A petition was also sent to the Metropolitan asking him to convene the General Synod immediately. This Bishop Selwyn declined to do, whereupon the Diocesan Synod at its next session, re-affirmed its position of the year before, "seeing no reason for withdrawing or modifying the demands then made." On this occasion the Bishop was supported by two laymen instead of one, but otherwise the voting was unchanged.

On April 27th, 1865, the General Synod at last met—the synod which was to decide

whether diocesan rights were to be recognised, or whether Canterbury was to "plough its furrow alone." It met in Christchurch, the place of meeting being a large loft above a store on the east side of Cathedral Square, known as Symington's Rooms. In this "upper room" assembled a small but remarkable company. Besides the President (Bishop Selwyn) and the Bishop of Christchurch, there were present Bishop Abraham, of Wellington, one of the greatest of Eton masters; Bishop Williams of Waiapu, an eminent missionary who had just escaped death at the hands of Hau-hau fanatics; and Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, who was to experience actual martyrdom six years later. Among the clergy were veteran missionaries like Dr. Maunsell, the translator of the Bible into Maori, and students like Archdeacon Jacobs, the future historian of the New Zealand Church. The laity included Sir W. Martin, late Chief Justice of New Zealand; the Hon. J. Hall, afterwards Premier; Mr J. E. Fitzgerald, first Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury; and the Hon. H. J. Tancred, first Chancellor of the New Zealand University.

The gravity of the occasion was felt by all, and for the fifteen days of the session's course the most earnest attention was given to the matter in hand. "The Constitution" (writes Dean Jacobs) "was on its trial; the peace and unity of the Church of New Zealand were felt to be hanging in the balance. That there was much animation and warmth in the debates,

it is needless to say : but we may thankfully add that there was very little, if anything, of acrimony and bitterness. The first clash of arms seemed formidable ; but very soon, by the blessing of God, a spirit of concession and mutual conciliation began to manifest itself ; and before the close of the session the clouds had entirely cleared away, and there was left behind a sense of relief, and of general contentment and satisfaction."

The result of this memorable synod was thoroughly welcome to Canterbury Churchmen. All the points upon which they had insisted were yielded by the iron-willed Primate. The Constitution was revised and brought more into accord with ancient precedent. The property basis was made somewhat less obtrusive, though the unalterable character of the Fundamental Provisions prevented any attempt to improve them in this respect. The inherent rights of dioceses were recognised, and their synods were permitted to appoint their own trustees. These happy results were due—partly to the determination of the local representatives, partly to the support they received from the C.M.S. clergy of the North Island, but above all, perhaps, to the good sense and Christian statesmanship of the leaders, especially Sir William Martin.

To no one could the issue have been more grateful than to Bishop Harper. The difficulties of his peculiar position were now removed, and nothing remained to divide him any longer

from his old friends or from the men of his own diocese. It was he himself who brought forward (nearly at the close of the session) the important resolution which settled the burning question of the Trusts. The relief which he felt when the proceedings were over finds vent in the following simple entry in his diary. "Conclusion—*Deo Optimo Gratiae.* Concert of sacred music. Admirable."

A week later he was on the sea with Bishop Selwyn, bound for the far-away settlements of Invercargill and Jacob's River.

CHAPTER VIII.

VISIT TO ENGLAND.

THE PRIMACY.

NEW DIFFICULTIES.

“Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means ; and there will stand
On honourable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire ;
Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim ;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth, or honours, or for worldly state ;
Whom they must follow ; on whose head must fall,
Like showers of manna, if they come at all.”

—Wordsworth.

THOUGH the legal bonds which had formerly connected the colonial churches with that of the mother land had been decisively broken, there had been no weakening of the loyalty and affection which the daughters felt for their venerable parent. It was natural, therefore, that a desire should spring up for some new means of representing and strengthening the sentiment of unity. The desire found voice in a suggestion from Canada that a general gathering of bishops should be held, and in 1867 the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Longley) invited all the bishops of the Anglican communion to meet at Lambeth for a “Pan-Anglican Synod.”

Bishop Harper had no wish to leave his diocese, but the invitation appeared in the light of a call of duty, and accordingly he and

Bishop Selwyn were among the seventy-six prelates who accepted the summons. On the evening of Thursday, July 4th, a service of farewell was held in St. John's Church, Christ-churh, at which eighteen clergy were present. On the following Sunday the Bishop left for Wellington with Mrs. Harper and their youngest daughter. There he met the primate (still busy with Synodical questions), and together they embarked on the s.s. *Ruahine* for Panama—then the nearest route to England. The voyage was not an eventful one, though it led through regions which had lately suffered much from earthquakes and other convulsions of nature. Bishop Harper obtained his first glimpses of tropical scenery in crossing the isthmus from Panama to Colon, and also while his ship lay at anchor off the island of St. Thomas. On August 26th, the coast of Devonshire was sighted; soon after sunset Southampton was reached; and that night the Bishop, after ten years of absence, slept once more in his native county.

Next day he was in London, and soon renewed his acquaintance with old scenes and old friends. The Conference did not meet till September 24th, and there was time for visits to relations in various parts of the country. But the scenes of his past work were naturally the first to engage his attention. He was soon standing on the Playing Fields of Eton, which he reached by boat up the Thames. A few days later he was at Mortimer, and busy

among his old parishioners there—visiting them in their homes and addressing them collectively in church or when gathered upon Sir Paul Hunter's lawn. How different the last ten years had been for him from the days of his quiet pastoral labours there. He had forded swift rivers and climbed rugged mountains in the course of his missionary labours. He had slept on a "wool and tarpaulin bed" at a sheep station, and had shared a stockman's hut, not only with its regular occupants, both English and Maori, but also with the four quarters of a newly-slain bullock. He had pioneered among the diggers of the Westland gold-fields, and had experienced the mingled deference and profanity of many a road-side shanty. But he had lifted a disappointed community out of its apathy, and had taken a leading part in the building up of a strong and well-ordered church. And now he was back among the old scenes, a man of sixty-four years, but hale and hearty as ever, and with no wish save to return to his distant colonial diocese and to the work which he was still to carry on for more than twenty years.

When the Conference met at Lambeth he gave his whole attention to the proceedings. Though not as prominent a member as his friend, Bishop Selwyn, he yet took an active part in the work of a committee which was set up to consider the question of the organisation of the Church into synods and provincial assemblies. Several months were needed for

the collection of information and the interchange of ideas. Ancient precedents had to be consulted and the different colonial systems compared with one another. The committee did not keep together during this time, and much of the business was done by correspondence. But their unanimously signed report was, in Bishop Harper's opinion, one of great value, and he seems to have been much disappointed that it was not adopted by the Conference as a whole. This was doubtless due to the State connection of the English Church, but the two New Zealand bishops found that at least the Irish prelates were keenly interested in their experience, in view of the approaching and inevitable disestablishment of the Irish Church. As a matter of fact, many features of the present constitution of the Church of Ireland were suggested by that of New Zealand.

During the later months of 1867 and the earlier months of 1868, Bishop Harper preached in various parts of the country for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—thus repaying to some extent the debt which Canterbury owed for monetary help in its early difficulties. We find him also accompanying his old friend Bishop Wilberforce to an interesting service at the Clewer House of Mercy ; dining at Eton on Founders' Day with one hundred other guests ; meeting Liddon, Bright, and other divines, at Oxford ; watching the bestowal of the D.C.L. degree upon his

friend Selwyn in the Sheldonian Theatre ; and enjoying in his own quiet way the many opportunities of refreshment and stimulus which life in England affords.

After an absence of rather more than a year, Bishop Harper returned to New Zealand with Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn—travelling again by the Panama route. He arrived in Lyttelton on August 19th, 1868. His welcome showed unmistakably the affection with which he was regarded in his diocese and also the progress which that diocese had made since his first arrival. After a special service and an address of welcome at the Port, he proceeded by train to Christchurch through the newly-opened tunnel. Here he was met by the Mayor, the Deputy-Superintendent (Mr. W. Montgomery), several of the clergy, and the boys of the Grammar School. Heavy rain unfortunately interfered with the procession which had been arranged ; but the streets along the route were decorated with flags, and at Bishops-court the carriage passed beneath a triumphal arch and between long lines of Sunday-school scholars holding flags and boughs of evergreens. In replying to the Children's address, the Bishop remarked that when he first arrived in Christchurch there were not so many children in the whole province as were now assembled before him—most of them colonial-born. Other services and addresses followed, and on August 27th, he was received by a large and enthusiastic meeting of all denominations in the

Town Hall. Referring to the address of Mr. R. J. S. Harman (spokesman for the Church officers and lay-members) the Bishop confessed that, in spite of his affection for the land of his birth, he felt on this occasion like a traveller returning to his home. His modesty would not allow him to interpret the enthusiasm of the meeting as a personal tribute, he assigned it chiefly to the regard felt for his office. "And I would rather have it so. I would rather not be welcomed on account of any personal considerations, but as a pastor returning to his flock—a father returning to his family."

Bishop Selwyn's return was of a different character. He had come out only to bid his old diocese farewell. In the previous December he had been appointed to the see of Lichfield, and he now came to preside at Auckland over his last General Synod, and to prepare for the appointment of a successor. Of course this meant that the Primacy of the New Zealand Church was now vacant. The election took place at the conclusion of the Synod. Every vote was given for the Bishop of Christchurch. The information, indeed, leaked out that one episcopal vote was cast for the Bishop of Waiapu, but no one who knew the two men had the least doubt as to whose that vote was. It was the vote of Bishop Harper himself.

The position of primate does not carry with it any great amount of authority or pre-eminence. Its holder presides at the meetings

of General Synod ; otherwise his duties are not great. Bishop Harper, with his intense humility, was not likely to make the office more prominent than it need be. But as the principal ecclesiastical personage in the colony, he was bound to be the medium of communication between the Church of New Zealand and that of other countries. For all these duties he was admirably adapted. The general feeling with regard to his appointment was well summed up in a letter which he received in the following year from the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait.

“Lambeth Palace,
June 18th, 1869.

My dear Lord,

Allow me to express my satisfaction in finding that you have been appointed to the Primacy of the New Zealand Branch of our Church. I will venture to say that I look for the best results under God's blessing from your mild persuasive wisdom. Let me thank you for your very kind expressions towards myself. We are in very anxious circumstances at present while the fate of the Irish Church remains undecided. I hope the House of Lords may solve the difficulties of the situation.

With kind regards to Mrs. Harper,

Ever yours sincerely,

A. C. CANTUAR.

The Lord Bishop of Christchurch.”

There were “anxious circumstances” in New Zealand also during the next few years. Some of them were local and temporary, but others were of grave and lasting import. For a due appreciation of Bishop Harper's primacy and

of his later episcopate, some preliminary account of these is desirable.

One difficulty which probably caused him more anxiety and pain for a short time than all the others put together was what is known as "the Jenner difficulty." Much might be said in reference to it here, but it seems better not to re-awaken the memories of what was an exceedingly bitter and painful episode. A full account may be found in Dean Jacobs' *History* by those who are desirous of making themselves acquainted with it. Bishop Harper adhered to the constitution of the New Zealand Church, but its democratic character was not understood in England, and the principal ecclesiastical organs espoused the cause of Bishop Jenner. But when the Primate brought his case before the second Lambeth Conference (in 1878) his statement carried great weight, and juster opinions began to prevail. The matter may be dismissed here with the single remark that the Bishop acted throughout as he might have been expected to act by those who were acquainted with his character. He was a man of peace : he was a man who stood by his diocese : he was a consistent man. As such he acted now, and what more need be said ?

The Jenner case affected Dr. Harper both as primate and as diocesan, but when once the diocese of Dunedin was settled by the appoint-

ment of Dr. Nevill he had no further difficulties outside the limits of his own diocese.

As primate he was called upon to consecrate four bishops, viz : Dr. Hadfield, to Wellington, in 1870 ; Dr. Nevill, to Dunedin, in 1871 ; Dr. John Selwyn, to Melanesia, and Dr. Stuart to Waiapu, both in 1877.

He presided over seven General Synods, and at the Lambeth Conference of 1878 took his seat with the other metropolitans within the sanctuary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

But there were difficulties enough within the reduced diocese of Canterbury to occupy the attention of any conscientious pastor. The character of the settlement was changing. New Zealand was about to enter upon the era of public works and immigration. The stage coach and then the railway, made travelling more easy. The diocese was fairly provided with church buildings. But the new time brought new trials. Hitherto the difficulty had been to bring church ordinances within reach of the people : henceforth the question was to be how to bring the people to the use of church ordinances. Not that the difference was felt all at once, nor even clearly perceived in all its force, but it came about gradually and with ever increasing clearness. The causes of this change were manifold—some peculiar to the colony, others of a more general character.

¹ With the exception of a dispute over the building of a church at Hastings in Hawke's Bay, in 1876. The Primate sent Archdeacon Wilson as his commissioner to investigate the matter, and gave his decision in the following year.

Within the country itself, as circumstances became more commonplace and the routine of life more easy, there came a certain slackening of moral effort. The isolated settler, long cut off from the Church privileges to which he had been accustomed in his youth, would cheerfully make sacrifices in order to attend an occasional service in a distant woolshed, or in order to build a church upon his own estate. But when religious services grew more frequent and more easily accessible, he did not feel quite the same interest ; and even if he himself kept up the old habits of piety, he could not always imbue his sons with the same sense of their importance.

The immigration policy of the early seventies added to the difficulties instead of mitigating them. In the desire to swell the population of the colony, the Government and its agents too often paid more attention to quantity than to quality. They accepted any who were willing to come, and many undesirable characters were drawn from the slums of the great cities of the old world and sent out at the Colony's expense to be a burden upon its resources and an addition to its criminal class. Down to the year 1871, though the population had been steadily increasing, the number of convictions for serious offences had been as steadily lessening. But from this date onwards they again increased. Petty offences also became rife. The workman could no longer leave his tools by the road-side, and the

householder found it necessary to lock his doors at night. The old unsuspicious freedom gave way more and more before the advance of "modern civilisation."

Greater calls were thus made upon the religious agencies of the community, and at the same time religion itself felt the weakening influence of the movements of modern thought. Competent observers have assigned the year 1869 as marking the beginning of that un-settlement of thought which has so profoundly affected modern society. New Zealand was by no means unaffected by these movements. Its people were drawn from the more adventurous spirits of England, Scotland, and Ireland; they were above the average of their class in intelligence and readiness for anything new; and in their new home they missed the restraining power of old associations. Thus they were specially sensitive to the influences of the new time—bad as well as good. The effect of these forces was first to be felt in the department of education—a subject which, on account of its paramount importance, demands a chapter to itself.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BISHOP AND THE YOUNG.

“The world exists only by the breath of school-children.”
—*Rabbi Judah the holy.*

THE battle of the schools came to its climax in the seventies, but the contest had been long preparing. The effects of that contest are felt in the present day more acutely than ever, and its history is worth tracing in some detail. In order to do this, it will be necessary to go back once more to the beginnings of the settlement.

It will be remembered that the founders of Canterbury gave to education the second, if not the very first, place in their scheme. Not only was there to be a great university at Christchurch, but every village was to have its parish school for the education of the masses. It will be remembered also, that the founders chose as their first bishop an educational expert, who had been at the head of one of the principal training colleges in England, and that many of the students of this college volunteered to accompany their chief to his new diocese. The bishop-designate did not, it is true, remain long enough in the colony to accomplish any of his ambitious designs, but Mr. Godley himself established schools in the several parishes without delay. When Bishop Harper arrived on the scene, he

found himself placed in the position of director-general of most of the educational institutions in the settlement.

This entailed a serious responsibility. In addition to his long missionary tours, to his attendance at conferences and synods, and to his ordinary episcopal work, the bishop was charged with the appointment of teachers, the payment of salaries, the providing of books, and the expenditure (virtually uncontrolled) of a large sum of public money. For in the year of his arrival, the Provincial Council adopted the system of providing for the education of the children of the settlement, by voting a generous sum each year to the heads of three religious bodies—the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and the Wesleyans. These authorities were not intended to exercise their powers unchecked, for the Ordinance provided for quarterly statements to be made to the Superintendent showing how the money was expended, and also for consultation between the civil and church authorities on the appointment of teachers and the scale of their salaries. These provisions, however, were not enforced, and were for some years almost a dead letter. Nor was there any effective local control. The Synod drew up regulations for a school committee in each parish, but in very few instances was this regulation obeyed, and in still fewer was it made really operative. The fact seems to have been that education was looked upon as a matter belonging to the clergy. The laity

were more occupied with the scab which was spreading among the flocks, and and the watercress which was choking the streams. Some of the clergy showed themselves alive to the importance of their schools, but the interest of most was of a fitful and languid kind. The real direction was left to the heads of the denominations, and as the Church of England possessed more schools and more scholars than the others combined, the bishop, as has been said, was the principal educational official for the first six years of his episcopate.

Signs of discontent, however, were not wanting. In a summary of colonial progress which appeared in the *Lyttelton Times* of May 13th, 1857 (a journal entirely favourable to the then existing system), the following criticism is found :—“The statistics of education in the province are tedious to give, and we must confess, reflect anything but credit upon us.” Hardly had the bishop sailed for the Auckland Conference in the same month (not five months after his arrival) when a public meeting at Lyttelton met to discuss the subject. At this meeting, Mr. Fitzgerald (a leading churchman as well as Superintendent of the Province), made a long and powerful speech against the denominational system. In spite of the opposition of the incumbent of the parish (Rev. B. W. Dudley), he carried with him the whole of the meeting in support of a resolution which affirmed that “the establishment of schools on a municipal or district system for secular education,

reserving to the appointed minister of every denomination the task and duty of religious instruction, is the most satisfactory scheme."

Such an outspoken expression of opinion from so important a centre as Lyttelton then was could not but be regarded as an ominous sign. No important move, however, was made till the year 1862, when an Inspector of Schools was appointed by the Council, and a commission set up to report on the working of the system. Its chairman was Mr. H. J. Tancred, and among its members were Mr. W. Rolleston and other influential colonists. In July, 1863, they presented an interim report. While bearing testimony to the zeal and earnestness which had distinguished those entrusted with the duty of administering the educational funds (*i.e.*, the three "Heads"), the commissioners yet gave it as their opinion that these authorities were not specially qualified for their responsible office; that there was manifest a tendency to use the money in the interests of denominational rivalry rather than of scholastic efficiency; that the school buildings were unsuited to their purpose, "being little better than sheds"; and that the religious instruction (which had undoubtedly been carefully given) was due to the earnestness of the teachers rather than to the efforts of the clergy, most of whom never concerned themselves with the teaching of religion at all.

This was a hard blow for the bishop. It affected him in his public capacity; it might

also be taken to affect him as a Christian, and even as a man of honour. The following unique entry in his journal shows how keenly he felt it :—

July 25th.—Mr. Tancred called. Spoke to him on the unfairness of the report towards the Church of England on the following points :—

1. Rivalry in establishing schools,—not true in the case of the Church of England.
2. The appointment of religious masters, the result of the distribution of the fund being placed in the hands of the religious bodies.
3. Not true as regards the ministers of the Church of England, that they have not taken part in the religious teaching in school.
4. Not true that distinctive teaching has not been taught in our schools. Catechism always used.
5. Non-compliance with scale of salaries sanctioned by the Executive Government.

This protest seems to have been not wholly without effect. At least the full report which the commission presented in the following November, was less outspoken on the question of denominational rivalry. But the report, which is a monument of painstaking industry and lucid analysis, by its careful collection of facts, gives the means for testing the bishop's assertions as compared with those of the former report. As might have been expected, there is abundant proof that the bishop's description of his own action was absolutely correct. So far from establishing schools in a spirit of rivalry, he had perhaps erred a little on the other side. A large number of children belonging to Church of England parents were attending Presbyterian

and Wesleyan schools, while the children of those bodies who attended Anglican schools were comparatively few. The report mentions one or two instances which verge on the ludicrous. One Presbyterian school was attended by 26 scholars. Of these, 19 belonged to the Church of England, 4 were Wesleyans, and the remaining 3 were Roman Catholics. The teacher himself was a Churchman, but taught the Shorter Catechism. In one Wesleyan school the master belonged to the Church of England, and so did the parents of all the children with one or two exceptions. Truly the rivalry had not been on the side of the Bishop of Christchurch!

When, however, we pass to questions affecting the clergy and teachers, it must be confessed that the commissioners make good their contention to a large extent. Of all the Church clergy, they could hear of only two who took any regular part in the religious instruction, and that only once a week. Some of the others gave a lesson occasionally. The Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers gave no instruction at all. As to the use of distinctive formularies, the commissioners adduced six Church of England schools in which the Catechism was not taught on week-days, and others in which it was modified to suit the wishes of nonconformist parents. In these particulars the bishop had had to trust to reports, and had, perhaps, been less stringent than he might have been in seeing that his instructions were carried out.

The report of the commission disclosed a state of things which was not altogether unsatisfactory, yet undoubtedly left much to be desired. Some of the schools were efficient, and the religious training of the children good. On the other hand, there was no uniform system or general plan. In some places, two or even three schools had been established where one would have served, yet the total number of scholars in attendance was far below what it ought to have been (2,484 out of 3,500 children of school age). The buildings were always inadequate, frequently overcrowded, and sometimes horribly insanitary; and, in conclusion, the expense was excessive. Whereas in England the cost per average scholar was £1 10s.; in New South Wales, £2 7s. 10d.; and in Victoria, £3 12s. 6d.; in Canterbury it was no less than £7 13s.

Thus the denominational system found itself hard pressed by arguments to which reply was difficult. Population was pouring into the country, new schools were urgently required, and the old ones all needed an additional expenditure of money. The cost threatened to become heavy indeed. This might have been faced, and probably would have been faced, if the system had been satisfactory, and if the teaching of religion could be secured in no other way. But neither of these conditions existed. The education was not efficient, and was becoming less so as the number of children increased, while teaching power and school

accommodation remained almost stationary. And so ready were the parents to send their children to the nearest school, whether belonging to their own denomination or not, so small was the amount of *distinctive* religious teaching in most of the schools, and so apathetic were most of the clergy and ministers, that the commissioners could argue with much plausibility that undenominational schools under the immediate control of government, would provide religious education as good as that which was already being given.

The result of their report was that the administration of the grant was taken from the three "Heads," and given to a Board appointed by the Superintendent. This Board also inspected the schools and exercised a certain amount of control. The denominational schools were still allowed to continue, and were subsidised as before; but no new ones were established. By the guarantee of one-fourth of the initial cost, any district was enabled to secure the establishment of a public school which should be managed by a committee locally elected. New districts invariably voted for such a policy, and in the old ones also, the denominational schools were gradually replaced by those of the new type.

The year 1872 saw the beginning of the final fray. In that year the advocates of denominationalism won a partial victory in the Council, by securing the exemption of the four towns of Christchurch, Lyttelton, Kaiapoi, and Timaru

from the operation of the law enforcing the appointment of school committees. But the triumph was short-lived and dearly bought. In the following year (1873) their opponents carried a resolution in the Council which practically affirmed that grants to denominational schools should cease. The contest within the Council was a fierce one, and it was taken up still more fiercely by the public and the press. "It continued throughout the year with a bitterness and an energy that have scarcely been equalled since by any public controversy of our history. The advocates of secular education eventually triumphed, and their party was returned at the provincial election by a large majority."¹

The feeling excited by this contest seems to have been hardly warranted, for by this time there were but six church schools left in existence. These of course were now closed. The centre of interest had really shifted to the Government schools, for in regard to them also the year 1873 was a critical one. The Ordinance of 1864 had made ample provision for the religious training of the children attending these schools. The provision might even seem to be excessive. Each school day was to be opened with one half-hour's reading of Holy Scripture, and from this reading no child was allowed to be absent. The teacher might also give religious instruction at other times, if he were authorised by a unanimous

¹ *Lyttelton Times* Jubilee Number.

vote of the committee, and if the Board were satisfied as to his competency. A child might be excused from attendance at such lessons, but only if the committee were assured that he was "under proper religious instruction elsewhere." And in addition to all this, the committee might set apart one whole day, or two half-days, of the school week, during which ministers of religion might give instruction to the children belonging to their own denomination. Such was the first system framed by the laity of Canterbury when they took the education of the young into their own hands.

In 1871 a fresh Ordinance was passed. It abolished school fees and substituted the ingenious device of compelling every householder to pay £1 per annum, and five shillings additional for every child whether attending school or not. The provisions for religious teaching were not greatly altered, but the undefined instruction by the teacher was exchanged for the compulsory teaching of "history sacred and profane."

Then came the year of conflict, 1873. The heated struggle over the denominational schools was bound to affect the religious character of those controlled by the Board. In the Ordinance passed in the June of that year, no mention is made of the half-hour's Bible-reading. The teaching of "history sacred and profane" was made subject to a conscience clause. The right of entry by ministers of religion was saved only by the narrow majority of 16 to 14. But,

even so, the system was far from being absolutely "secular." Sacred history was taught in each school as a regular part of the curriculum, and the clergy (unless disapproved of by the local committee) might enter the school at least once each week, and give the distinctive teaching of their own church to such of the children as belonged to it. No change was made in these provisions by the later Ordinance of 1875, and they continued in force as long as the provincial Government itself.

In 1876 the provinces were abolished. But the excellent system which had been so patiently elaborated by the legislators of Canterbury was by no means fruitless. A bill to provide for the education of the whole colony was brought forward in the General Assembly by the Hon. C. C. Bowen, the representative of Canterbury in the ministry of the day. It was based, to a large extent, upon that of the province, and it contained a distinct religious element. But provincial jealousy was still strong, and anything which emanated from Canterbury was viewed with hostility by the more backward settlements of the North Island. After weeks of struggle the bill was carried, but shorn of its religious provisions through the combined influence of Roman Catholics and secularists. The only point which marked any concession to religion was that which fixed 9.30 a.m. as the hour at which the school day should begin. As 9 o'clock was the usual hour throughout the colony, the half-hour thus left unassigned might

have been utilised by the clergy for a religious lesson. But the old feelings of hostility to the Government system were still strong. Very few of the clergy availed themselves of the one chance thus left them, and the early hour has been almost everywhere annexed to the regular school day.

This unfortunate hostility was never shared by the Bishop. At the end of the troubled year of 1873 he had shown his goodwill to the new order by offering prayer at the laying of the foundation stone of the Normal School. He had always urged his clergy to take advantage of the facilities given them by the Canterbury ordinances. After the passing of the Act of 1877, he issued a pastoral letter, which is one long appeal for greater devotion to the welfare of the young. He advised that every effort should be made to utilise the morning hour, and also the Saturday holiday.

But his chief reliance was upon home training and upon the better organisation of the Sunday schools. To aid these schools he promised the appointment of a diocesan inspector, and was able to carry out this idea a few years later by placing the work in the capable hands of the Ven. Archdeacon Harris. The result was a vigorous development of Sunday school work. United gatherings of scholars were conspicuous features of the All Saints' Festival in the Cathedral. At one such gathering the aged bishop addressed the country children shortly before his resignation, and his earnest words on

the text, "He came down to Nazareth and was subject unto them," were such as to leave a permanent impression on many hearts.

It is pleasant to turn from primary to secondary and collegiate education. For with this Bishop Harper was connected still more closely, and for this his previous experience had been one long training. The name of Christ's College calls up pleasing thoughts of the fostering care and unfailing interest of its first Warden.

When the bishop landed in New Zealand, he found a school of about 40 boys, taught by two masters (with the help of two part-time assistants), and housed in what was really the parsonage-house of the one church of Christ-church. It was a very humble establishment, but it was all the realisation there was as yet of the magnificent visions with which the first settlers had set out—visions of a college which should "rival the scholastic honours of Eton and of Oxford," and should diffuse the streams of knowledge over Australasia and the East. Insignificant, however, as the outcome seemed, the "College" had already a history behind it, and no mean potentialities for the future. Established in the first month after that of the landing of the pilgrims, it had struggled from the very first to be something more than a mere school. The first home of its activities was the immigrants' barracks at Lyttelton. There it had the use of two small

roughly-whitewashed rooms, one of which was used for the Grammar School, and the other for a college lecture-room. The head of this double institution was the Rev. Henry Jacobs, who was particularly qualified by his sound scholarship for the higher department. He was not only headmaster, but "Watts-Russell Professor of Divinity," while the chair of history (Hulsean Chichele) was occupied by Mr. H. J. Tancred. In April, 1852, the college was moved to the house where Bishop Harper found it, and there it struggled on for the next few years. Its scholars were continually changing, as families moved to the up-country stations; but the numbers grew, and the parsonage on Oxford Terrace became inconveniently small. In 1855 Christ's College was incorporated under Provincial Ordinance (the collegiate ideal being still prominent in theory), and its new governing body began to consider the question of a suitable and permanent home.

First came the question of the site. The central square of the city enclosed a block of land which had been intended for the Cathedral and the University. But its area was insufficient for the requirements even of a good school, and the block was a serious hindrance to the traffic of the town. A bargain, highly advantageous to both parties, was therefore struck between the ecclesiastical and the civic authorities. The former gave up half of their land, and obtained in exchange a splendid site

of ten acres on the west side of the city, besides a money compensation of £1,200. The latter obtained a convenient roadway through the midst of the square, an open space in the very centre of the city, and a site for the future Godley statue.

Next came the question of buildings. Bishop Harper had collected nearly £200 in England before he set sail, and other friends in the old country had sent substantial help. But a larger amount was the product of one of those small efforts which sometimes bring about surprisingly welcome results. Before the sailing of the first four ships, Mr. Jackson, the bishop-designate, had conceived the happy idea of making application on behalf of his proposed college to the widow of Mr. Joseph Somes, a former ship-owner and director of the New Zealand Company. The lady readily agreed to lay out £150 in the purchase of 50 acres of land in the new settlement for the founding of a scholarship. A ballot was to determine the order in which the land sections were to be selected; and when this ballot came to be taken, the name of Mrs. Somes was the first to be drawn. The land was chosen in Lyttelton immediately on the arrival of the colonists; and so rapidly did its value increase, that by 1857 it was yielding every year a sum equal to the original purchase money. It now yields considerably more, and many have been the boys and youths who have had occasion to bless "Maria Somes" for the scholarships which

have paid their school or college fees. For the first few years, however, the income was not available, and in 1857 there were accrued arrears of rent which amounted to £1,000, and formed an important addition to the building fund.

So it came about that on a beautiful winter day, July 24th, 1857, soon after the bishop's return from the Auckland Conference, a little procession of Warden and Fellows left the old St. Michael's parsonage, and wended its way by gullies and sandhills towards the new site. Psalms were chanted as the ground was neared, and with prayers and benedictions the foundation-stone of Christ's College was laid by the bishop amidst the tussocks on the banks of the Avon. In that year a schoolroom and the sub-warden's house were built. Gradually, as more subscriptions came and Government grants were made, other buildings arose, till the quadrangle began to look something like that of one of the old scholastic institutions of the mother-land. In 1867 a stone chapel was added. As early as St. Bartholomew's Day, 1858, the bishop notes in his diary that the boys chanted the psalms for the first time. He himself attended the daily service in the chapel with the utmost regularity. In 1873 he fixed his office in the library at the south-east corner of the quadrangle; from this he issued every morning at 8.30, clad in cap and gown, and falling in at the rear of the procession of boys and masters, took his place in the warden's

stall, where he sat—a continual example of unostentatious devotion. When the Cathedral was opened in 1881, that stall was vacant for a time, and a sense of loss was felt by all. Great was the pleasure and the sense of triumph when a few weeks later the aged bishop was seen once more pacing along the quadrangle, and taking his old place in the chapel. Some say that the boys themselves had made known to him their wish in the matter; but at all events, they thought it a sign of the bishop's good sense that "he couldn't stand the Cathedral any longer," and that he preferred to be among his boys.

But the bishop's interest was far from being limited to the chapel services. As Warden he had, of course, a principal voice in the management, and in the early days he would sometimes take one of the upper forms when its regular teacher was away. The school had its ups and downs, head-masters were not always equal to the demands of their position, and the Warden was occasionally compelled to exert his authority in a decided manner. But on the whole it grew and prospered. Favoured with an admirable head in the Rev. W. C. Harris, who held the position from 1866 to 1872, it attained the premier position in the colony, and was spoken of as the "Eton of New Zealand." In 1879 it attracted the favourable notice of the present Prime Minister of England (the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour), who endowed it with an annual divinity prize. In 1873 it was affiliated

to the University of New Zealand on account of the collegiate character which it never wholly lost. In 1895 it received an accession of strength from the incorporation into it of the Cathedral School, which had been established separately in 1881. Other schools have come into existence during the last quarter of a century, and Christ's College Grammar School no longer stands alone, as it did in the olden days. But it still holds an honourable position in the front rank, both in respect of scholarship and of games. Over two thousand *alumni* have been trained within its walls, and many of the principal men of the colony are proud to be reckoned among the number of its "old boys." Among these may be mentioned the present Dean of Christchurch (one of the late bishop's sons), and the Agent-General of New Zealand, the Hon. W. Reeves, to whom the social legislation of the last twelve years is mainly due. Others have laid down their lives on the battle-fields of South Africa, for Christ's College claimed no less than forty-two names among the New Zealanders who won renown in the Boer War. The school chapel (enlarged in 1883 by the addition of transepts and chancel) contains in its east window a portrait of its first warden, and the "College Rifles" provided a guard of honour on the occasion of his funeral.

The collegiate or "upper" department never attained the success which has been achieved by the Grammar School. It was not till 1873 that it attained a separate existence, and it now

serves as a Divinity School and also as a residential hostel for students attending the university college which was founded by the Provincial Government in 1875, and endowed with ample funds. But as such it plays a useful and honourable part. Many of its old students are working as clergy in the diocese ; others are to be found in the mission-field, and in various scholastic positions. The ideals of the founders of Canterbury have not taken the exact shape which was contemplated at the beginning, but their fulfilment has not been altogether unworthy of the high aims which those founders had in view.

CHAPTER X.

THE CATHEDRAL.

“ ‘Tis a life-long toil till our lump be leaven,—
The better ! What’s come to perfection perishes.
Things learned on earth we shall practise in heaven :
Work done less rapidly Art most cherishes.”

—R. Browning.

THE year 1873, in which the battle of the schools was fought, was also the year in which a novelist of note published to the English world his impressions of *Australia and New Zealand*. In this book Anthony Trollope characterised the Canterbury settlement as being (from the Church point of view) a melancholy failure, and cited as a proof of his assertion the abandonment of the project to build a cathedral in Christchurch. Yet this same year, 1873, is the date which marks the revival of hope and effort among Churchmen, and the building of the cathedral forms the brightest outward feature in the later years of Bishop Harper’s episcopate.

But the novelist’s error was not unnatural. The history of the great undertaking to which he alluded is a history which belied the expectations of the sanguine as well as those of the despondent. That predictions of failure were ever falsified, and that over-confident hopes were in any degree realised, was due in the first place to the sagacious foresight of the founders of the settlement, and secondly, to the splendid

tenacity with which the few held on, when the many had lost heart. In more ways than one the history of Christchurch Cathedral is instructive as well as interesting.

Opinions still differ widely as to the functions which a cathedral should discharge, and the relations in which it should stand towards the parochial system. But such questions had hardly been broached half a century ago. The founders of Canterbury intended that it should have a cathedral, and a noble one, but their ideas as to its use when built were no clearer than those of their fellow-churchmen of the period. It belonged in fact, to what Mr. Godley called the "poetry" of their scheme. Canterbury was to be the reproduction of an English diocese; every English diocese had a cathedral; therefore Canterbury must have one too. In England cathedrals were usually found, not in busy commercial towns, but in quiet places with an academic atmosphere; therefore in Canterbury the cathedral should not be built in the projected business capital (Lyttelton) but in the university town upon the plains. And just as the "poetry" of colonisation must be left over till practical wants were in some measure supplied, so there was no proposal to begin an embryo cathedral establishment at once, but the pilgrims concentrated their efforts on a parochial church which would supply their real needs.

Circumstances, however, soon made it clear that Christchurch and not Lyttelton must be the business centre of the settlement, and also

made it clear that "Cathedral Square" must be the business centre of the city. But the Cathedral Commission appointed by the first Synod in 1859 were unable at first to realise the value of the unique site which fate had thus, as it were, put into their hands. Still clinging to the old idea of a quiet spot withdrawn from the hum of the traffic, they actually entered into negotiations for various other sites in the city. Unable, fortunately, to acquire any of these, they were at last driven, sentiment and poetry notwithstanding, to utilise the magnificent position, whose value was to become apparent at a later day.

These considerations help to explain Bishop Harper's action. His practical turn of mind led him to throw his energies into the development of parochial work and the building of parish churches. Towards the building of a cathedral his attitude was one of extreme caution. He feared lest the glamour of the cathedral scheme should blind the eyes of the people to the necessity for effective pastoral work, such as could only be supplied (according to the ideas of that day) by small and compact parishes in which one priest—assisted perhaps by a deacon—ministered to a number not too great to be individually known. Had he been able to foresee the future he might perhaps have taken a different course in 1859. For in that year, owing to a vacancy at St. Michael's, he had pastoral charge of the whole of Christchurch, and the parishioners were willing that the

arrangement should continue. Owing to the smallness of the old building, he was obliged to institute an evening service in the Masonic Hall—i.e., almost on the site of the cathedral itself. It would have been easy then to concentrate the work of the city there, and to make the cathedral in fact, what of course it is in theory, the mother church of the diocese. Much friction between the two systems might have been avoided, had this course been taken. But the Bishop deliberately kept them apart, postponed the commencement of the cathedral till parish churches were provided, and upheld its diocesan character throughout. He intended that it should be especially the church for the runholders and country-folks on their visits to town—a church to which they might come as of right and find no barrier in the shape of appropriated pews.

But sentiment was too strong to be withheld altogether. The first synod (as has been said) appointed a commission of fifteen, with the Bishop as chairman. This body obtained plans from Mr (afterwards Sir Gilbert) Scott, and took some steps towards ascertaining the cost of material. The design provided for outer walls of stone, but the clerestory and columns were to be of wood. These columns would have been formed each of a single tree of great size, and though the Auckland timber merchants were able to undertake to provide these huge balks, there was considerable doubt as to whether the shipping of the colony would be

equal to the task of conveying them to Lyttelton. Time passed in these preliminary enquiries and the public became impatient. In November, 1862, meetings of parishioners were held for the purpose of providing more sittings in the old church, and these resolved themselves (as the minority complained) into meetings for the building of a cathedral. The undercurrent, whose strength had hitherto been unsuspected, now rose to the surface, and soon carried everything before it.

During the next month, and without any systematic canvass, no less a sum than £11,000 was promised—the payments to be spread over five years. Mr Fitzgerald had in 1858 collected £750 in England, and in 1859 the bishop had added £1000 from the first instalment of the Council's church-building grant. The Commission had thus £1750 in hand, and in January, 1863, they put forth their first appeal, in which they asked for further subscriptions to make up the sum of £20,000 which would be amply sufficient (according to the estimate) to complete the nave and thus provide accommodation for 1000 worshippers.

Times were good, and the appeal met with a fair response. Encouraged by success, the Commission ventured to request Sir Gilbert Scott to alter his design by substituting stone pillars and clerestory. Not only so, but they even decided to lay the foundation of the whole building (instead of the nave only) in the confident assurance that a few years would see it

completed from one end to the other. In September, 1864, Mr R. Speechley arrived from England to take up the position of Resident Architect. He brought with him the alternative plans which were at once adopted, and the preliminary works were soon put in hand. The Provincial Council passed an Ordinance which had the effect of bringing the Cathedral a few feet nearer the middle of the Square, and on November 17th, the Bishop signed the contract for the foundation of the whole building.

On December 16th—the fourteenth anniversary of the settlement—the foundation-stone was laid. Great preparations had been made for the event. An imposing procession marched from St. Michael's to the open square. A large choir composed of parochial contingents, the Musical Society of the town, and a number of instrumentalists, rendered the “Hallelujah Chorus” after the laying of the stone, and “Worthy is the Lamb,” with the “Amen Chorus” at the close of the proceedings. Rain fell in torrents upon the unsheltered gathering, but nothing could damp the enthusiasm of the multitude, and the day was long remembered as a red-letter day in the history of the province.

And well it might be. Looking back at the circumstances of the time, the prominent feeling is one of astonishment and admiration. Christchurch was a very small town; its population can hardly have exceeded 5,000 people. Already the old church had been enlarged more than once, St. Luke's had not long been opened,

and in that very same year (1864) the bishop had laid the foundation-stone of St. John the Baptist's—a solid stone structure. And now the community had put its hand to the erection of a cathedral, to hold some 1,500 people, in the full expectation of seeing it completed within the next six years.

What were to be its uses, and who were to fill its spacious aisles? The appeal of the Commission spoke of the value of such a building as a witness to the Unseen Power, and also to the episcopal character of the Anglican Church. It mentioned the need of a large central church on great national occasions and for special episcopal functions. It dwelt also upon the welcome it would offer to country residents who often spent a considerable part of the year in town. But these objects would never have roused such enthusiasm had they stood alone. It was the sentiment, the "poetry," behind them which gave them their power. The general feeling was best expressed in the Latin inscription which was deposited in the foundation-stone.

It may be translated thus :—

IN HONOUR OF THE HOLY TRINITY
FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST,
THIS CORNER-STONE

of the Cathedral Church of Christ, in the City of Christchurch,
was laid by the Right Rev. H. J. C. Harper, D.D.,
First Bishop of Christchurch
on the 14th birthday of the Canterbury Settlement,
December 16th, of the 28th year of Queen Victoria,
being the year of our Redemption, 1864—
in the presence of clergy and people
remembering with a grateful heart

the many and great benefits which God, Most Good and Great,
the Author of all good things,
has bestowed upon the sons of Britain dwelling in this new country,
and the good success with which He has hitherto favoured the
hopes and plans of those who have earnestly striven to found
another England not unworthy of the mother :

Praying also that as the Universal Church of Christ founded upon
the Rock stands immovable and will stand even to the end of
the world,

So Christ's temple resting upon this corner-stone
may stand for all future years
a strong, beautiful, noble, and conspicuous
witness of faith in Christ unconquered and unshaken.

May God bless this work from beginning to end
and be propitious to our labours.

Amen.

Praise be to God."

But the day on which the stone was laid was the high-water mark for many a long year. Before the foundations were completed the tide had begun to ebb. A period of severe commercial depression set in, and by the end of 1865 the Commission was confronted with a deficit. Their expenses had amounted to £7,000, while of the promised subscriptions less than £5,000 had been paid. Again and again the Bishop appealed to the subscribers and the public, but with little or no result. Times were bad, and people could not pay. The work was therefore abandoned, and for several years there was nothing to be seen above the ground but a few inches of the foundation. Even this was nearly obliterated by the growth of grass and moss, and when the Governor (Sir George Grey) visited the city in 1867 the authorities found it necessary to mow the grass and white-wash the top of the foundation in order to let him see the outline of what they still hoped to build some day.

On his return from the Lambeth Conference in 1868, the Bishop found that hope had sunk to an even lower level. In one of the speeches at the welcome meeting he was informed by the Dean (Jacobs) that whereas, when he left for England, some lingering uncertainty still prevailed as to whether it might be possible to go on with the building within a reasonable time, that notion was now quite cleared away. "There is not a single person who does not think that it would be utterly vain and idle to attempt proceeding with the cathedral under present circumstances for, in all probability, some years to come."

Here was indeed a depressing account. Yet the situation was not without its compensations. The Cathedral idea had never held the first place in the bishop's thoughts, and the impossibility of its realisation at this time simply threw him back on his love for the parochial system. Thus it was that when, in the next year's synod, a motion for a fresh cathedral effort was brought forward by his son, the Archdeacon of Westland, and supported by a majority both of clergy and laity, the bishop actually opposed it with his veto. His policy was to do one thing at a time, and he resolved to postpone any such effort till more church accommodation was provided to meet the pressing needs of the immediate present. Accordingly, he concentrated his energies on the building of a new St. Michael's.



Photo by Wheeler.

CENTRE PANEL OF CATHEDRAL PULPIT

Bishop Selwyn's reception of Bishop Harper.

This church, of which the foundation-stone was laid on Michaelmas Day, 1870, was opened for divine service on May 2nd, 1872. Though built of timber, it was a noble and roomy structure and served well as a pro-cathedral for many years.

During this period the cathedral site was left, of course, in its old condition, and desolate indeed was its appearance at the time of Trollope's visit in the winter of 1872. "There is the empty space" (he wrote) "with all the foundations of a great church laid steadfast beneath the surface; but it seemed to be the general opinion of the people that a set of public offices should be erected there instead of a cathedral. I could not but be melancholy as I learned that the honest, high-toned idea of the honest, high-toned founders of the colony would probably not be carried out."

The visitor's information was not altogether correct, but it was not without ample justification in fact. In the years preceding his visit the synod had been discussing the advisability of some such course as that to which he alluded. In 1869 and in 1871, proposals were brought forward in favour of selling the site altogether, or else of letting it on building leases. In 1872 the Dean himself advocated such a course—his argument being that with the proceeds of the sale a less costly cathedral might be built on some less central site. Even the Bishop was not altogether averse to this policy. His great object was practical efficiency, and he instanced

the case of the holy man of old who sold the sacred vessels in order to ransom captives. But the synod could never bring itself to give up the foundations so hopefully laid at such great cost, and in the same year it at length passed a resolution (moved by Mr. C. C. Bowen) which favoured a resumption of the original work. Now that St. Michael's was built, the Bishop felt himself free to adopt what he had vetoed three years before, and the long period of waiting was brought to a close.

The time was opportune for a new advance. The commercial depression was passing away, and the community felt a new breath of hope. Trollope's book, which appeared in 1873, actually helped the rising tide. It led to the formation of a Cathedral Guild, whose exertions were of considerable value. The Bishop came forward with a scheme which bore the stamp of his generous nature, for it practically meant that he himself should bear the largest part of the cost. A loan was to be raised on the Church property—two-thirds on the Bishopric Estate, one-third on the joint security of the Dean and Chapter and General Trusts Estates—interest and sinking fund to be provided by proportionate deduction from the income of the bishop and canons, and the grant to the clergy of St. Michael's, St. Luke's, and St. John's. This proposal was not accepted, but in August the Trustees raised a loan of £5,000 and in the following year one of a similar amount. The tide of enthusiasm once more set in, a fresh

canvass was made, the public responded with generous subscriptions, and by the end of 1875 the outer walls had risen to a goodly height. On Anniversary Day in that year a service was held within those walls, which the Bishop characterised in his journal as "very good." Previous to the service he was presented with a pastoral staff and a Primatial crozier by the laity and the clergy of the diocese.

From this time onward the building proceeded, with some intervals indeed, but at a fairly rapid rate. The nave columns were given by different donors whose names they now bear. Mr. B. W. Mountfort was now resident architect, and to him many of the most beautiful details are due. In 1879 the synod determined to make a special effort for the completion of the nave, and authorised a further loan of £8000.¹ This was supplemented by several generous gifts. The rose window was given by the Cathedral Guild, the north porch by Archdeacon Wilson, and lastly, the tower and spire, with peal of bells, by Mr. R. H. Rhodes and the family of Mr. George Rhodes, his brother.

Thus it came about that on All Saints' Day, 1881, the nave was consecrated. The Bishops of Nelson, Wellington, Dunedin, and Waiapu took part in the proceedings and preached at the services held during the octave. A Dean and Chapter had been appointed as far back as 1866; a choir had already been trained under

¹ Altogether some £45,000 was spent on the cathedral prior to November, 1881.

the leadership of the Precentor (Rev. W. H. Elton), and a daily choral service of a character hitherto unrivalled in Australasia was carried on uninterruptedly from the day of consecration.

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The history of the building during the next twenty years was a somewhat checkered one. The lofty spire (210 feet) was injured more than once by the earthquakes with which New Zealand is visited from time to time. When the second Bishop of Christchurch was consecrated in 1890, it stood in a truncated condition ; and when the second Dean was installed in 1901, it had again been recently shaken so severely that the top courses had to be removed a few weeks later. In each case the family by whom it was built came forward generously with the funds for its restoration. During all this time the transepts and chancel stood in the unfinished state in which they had been left previous to the great effort of 1880, but in 1900 a new movement was inaugurated by the present bishop, and the 40th anniversary of its foundation will doubtless see the whole building completed and open for divine worship. By that date, no less a sum than £65,000 will have been spent upon the building, instead of the £21,000 which formed the original estimate.

Christchurch Cathedral has thus a history which is bound up with that of the settlement itself. Already it contains within its walls

many noble memorials of the early founders. Besides those of a more private character there are some which possess a strong public interest. The font, given by Dean Stanley, of Westminster, commemorates the annexation of the island to the British Crown, in 1840, by his brother, Capt. Owen Stanley, of H.M.S. *Britomart*. The pulpit was erected in memory of Bishop Selwyn—the carved alabaster panels representing different incidents in his life, such as his consecration of Bishop Patteson and his reception of Bishop Harper in 1856. In the south aisle an impressive recumbent figure of Bishop Harper himself rests upon a cenotaph, on which the dates of his episcopate are recorded.

The central position of the building has proved of great advantage. Its holding capacity has been none too great for the congregations which have come together on Sunday evenings, and has been altogether inadequate on great national occasions when citizens have wished to join in united acts of solemn worship. Its stately architecture and commanding position have given a character of its own to the "Cathedral City," and afford to a new generation an eloquent testimony to the high aims and devout aspirations of the founders of Canterbury.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LATER EPISCOPATE.

“Grow old along with me !
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made.”

R. Browning.

SOME of the more notable events of the later period of the Bishop's labours have already been described in the preceding chapters, but Bishop Harper was a man whose daily life and regular work stood for much more than the occasional events by which that life and work were varied. Take away the Jenner difficulty, the Carlyon trouble, and the Property tax dispute, and there is little (except the opening of the Cathedral) for a formal history to record. Yet none of these events, nor all of them together, made up any really great part of his work. An attempt must now be made to pourtray the bishop in his ordinary routine of labour, and to sketch the quiet growth of the diocese during the last twenty years of his episcopate.

The separation of Otago in 1871 left him with a diocese which was fairly compact though still large enough to occupy the energies of the most active pastor.

Except for the Westland goldfields, it soon became easy to traverse, for the seventies saw

the formation of railways through nearly every part of Canterbury. And every part was regularly visited by the Bishop, who was thoroughly familiar with every parish. Very little pioneering work did he leave for his successor. The Chatham Islands (300 miles out at sea), and the extreme south of Westland (only to be reached by riding round a bluff between two successive waves) were the only inhabited territories in which the second bishop found a fresh field for his energies.

During these tours he was frequently called upon to consecrate new churches. The following list begins with his return from the first Lambeth Conference, in 1868, and together with that on page 80, gives a complete record of the church building operations during the whole of his episcopate.

- In 1868—St. Saviour's, Templeton.
- In 1869—St. Luke's, Christchurch ; Holy Innocents, Mount Peel.*
- In 1871—St. Simon and St. Jude, Ashley ; St. Mary's, Halswell ; St. Paul's Maori Church, Arahura.
- In 1872—St. Mary's, Geraldine ; St. Michael's, Christchurch ; All Saints', Prebleton ; St. John's, Leeston.
- In 1893—St. Augustine's, Waimate.
- In 1874—St. Thomas', East Eyehton ; St. Matthew's, Fernside.

* Those marked with an asterisk are built, wholly or partially, in stone, brick, or concrete.

- In 1875—St. Matthew's, Courtenay ; St. Cuthbert's, Governor's Bay ; St. Mary's, West Oxford.
- In 1876—St. Matthew's, Caledonian Road : St. Barnabas', Fendalton ; St. John's, Hororata ; St. Bartholomew's, Kaiapoi ; All Saints, Sumner ; St. Paul's, Tai Tapu.
- In 1877—St. Barnabas, Woodend ; St. Saviour's, Sydenham ; St. Paul's, Papanui ; Holy Innocents', Amberley.
- In 1878—(the year of the second Lambeth Conference) St. John's, Windermere.
- In 1879—St. Thomas', Woodbury ; St. Stephen's, Lincoln ; St. Alban's, Pleasant Point* ; St. Andrew's, East Oxford ; All Saint's, Sherwood.
- In 1880—St. Mary's, Southbrook* ; St. Mary's, Otaio* ; St. James', Chertsey ; St. James', Harewood road ; St. Luke's, Brookside.
- In 1881—St. Mark's, South Rakaia.
- In 1882—St. Ambrose, Sheffield ; St. John's, Okain's Bay* ; St. Luke's, Little Akaloa ; St. John the Baptist, Rangiora* ; St. Mark's, Greenpark ; St. John's, Barr Hill.

¹ This church was afterwards removed (by traction engines) 17 miles to Methven, to take the place of one that had been blown down by a Nor-Wester.

- In 1883—St. Mary's, Geraldine* ; All Saints', Killinchy.
- In 1884—St. Paul's, West Melton ; St. Thomas', Dunsandel.
- In 1885—Church of the Epiphany, Gebbie's Valley ; St. Peter's, Teddington ; St. Peter's, Springfield ; Church of the Good Shepherd, Phillips-town* ; St. John's, Duvauchelle's Bay ; St. Saviour's, West Lyttelton.
- In 1886—St. Mary's, Timaru.*
- In 1887—St. Stephen's, Peel Forest ; St. Andrew's, Otaio.
- In 1888—St. Paul's, Port Levy ; St. Stephen's, Ashburton.*
- In 1889—St. Andrew's, Tinwald ; Holy Trinity, Kumara.

Of these churches, that of St. Mary's, Timaru, deserves special mention. Though still incomplete, and on a smaller scale, it vies with the Cathedral itself in dignity of design, solidity of structure, and beauty of detail.

Frequent, however, as were such joyful occasions as the consecration of a church, the bishop's visit to a parish was generally marked by nothing more remarkable than a confirmation. But it was in the conduct of these quieter services that his strength lay. His love for the young and his sympathy for their trials, his intense spirituality and his genuine earnestness,

his dignity and his winning gentleness—all these qualities were seen to perfection at a confirmation. He always delivered two addresses to the candidates, one before the question, and the other after the laying on of hands. These addresses never aimed at novelty or originality, they did not vary much in their substance or even in their form, but they always came fresh and living from the heart. It was on these occasions that the bishop threw off most completely his habitual reserve and revealed most clearly his inmost soul.

Needless to say that in the houses where he stayed he was ever a welcome guest. Sheep-station, country parsonage, or settler's rough shanty—in each and all the bishop's visit was an event to be long remembered and had in honour. He had an exceptional memory for faces and people, and never seemed to forget any member of a household which he had visited. The children in particular attracted his kindly notice, and were remembered in various ways when the visit was over.

The relations between the bishop and his clergy were generally of the happiest character. It could hardly be expected, of course, that no troubles would arise, but only one was of sufficient magnitude to attract public attention. This was the Carlyon case—a ritual dispute at Kaiapoi, in the year 1877. The whole subject of illegal ritual has passed into a different phase since then, and nothing would be gained now by the re-opening of an old sore.

The case stands differently, however, with a dispute which occupied much time during the last three years of Dr. Harper's episcopate. This was of so singular a nature and turned so largely upon the bishop's personal action, that some account of it must be given here.

Like the struggles between the Christchurch synod and Bishop Selwyn in 1862-65, this was connected with the Canterbury Church endowments. The cause of the dispute was quite different, but again the bishop found himself opposed to a large section of his diocesan synod, and again his qualities of firmness and discretion were manifested in an eminent degree.

The history of the building of the Cathedral (as given in the previous chapter) shows that loans were raised by the Church Property Trustees from time to time in order to make up for a deficiency in subscriptions. In 1879, the Synod determined on a bold course. In order to pay off the loans already contracted, and also to secure an additional sum wherewith to complete the nave, as well as to assist church-building throughout the diocese, it actually resolved to borrow in the English money market no less a sum than £50,000. This is probably the largest financial transaction ever entered into by a colonial diocese, and it is not to be wondered at if provision was not made for all possible contingencies. No difficulty was found in obtaining the money, but the

lenders secured themselves with a double security. Five hundred debentures (of £100 each) were issued, with negotiable interest coupons signed by the bishop. In addition to this, three gentlemen in the colony (Messrs. Murray-Aynsley, Tancred², and Bowen) were appointed on behalf of the lenders to hold a mortgage over a large part of the Church estates, and to act as intermediaries between the diocese and the English creditors.

All went well till the year 1887, when the New Zealand Government subjected the Church estates to a property tax. The question then arose:—Who ought to pay the tax on the mortgaged lands—the diocese or the debenture-holders? The Church Property Trustees held that it must be paid by the latter. To the bishop this course seemed like a repudiation of just liabilities, and he reserved the resolution for the consideration of synod. “It is not a question which should be decided simply on business principles, or even in accordance with a law in this country but on those higher principles which we profess to hold, and which would have us in all our dealings with our fellow-men adhere strictly to our agreements with them, even though in so doing we should incur some pecuniary loss.”

For the present, however, the matter was settled by carrying it to the New Zealand Court of Appeal. Judgment was given in August,

² After Mr. Tancred's death in 1884, Mr. R. Westenra was appointed in his place.

1888, and it was in favour of the Church Property Trustees. The mortgagees were declared liable to pay the tax. The trustees therefore determined simply to reimburse these three gentlemen for the money they had privately advanced in order to keep faith with the debenture-holders, but to pay no more for the future. This did not suit the bishop. Such a course might be legal, but it was to his mind "inconsistent with that higher law of morality which the Church, the teacher of righteousness, is bound to uphold." Accordingly, he called the synod together immediately after the judgment of the Court of Appeal, and before it he laid his case.

The synod was in a sore state of perplexity. The members had the greatest reverence for their bishop, and sympathised with his position ; but might he not be a little over-scrupulous ? The trustees were high-minded men, as well as men of business : would they advocate anything dishonourable ? The highest court in the land sided with them ; was it necessary to be more just than the judges ? So the Synod—town and country clergy, town and country laity—set itself to master the intricacies of the case in order to solve this new phase of the world-old problem, What is Justice ?

The ordinary Synod fortnight passed, and still the question was undecided. At the close of the second week the bishop appealed to the members to come back on Monday and go through with their task. Many a country

church must be left without services, but justice is greater even than church ordinances. So for another week the discussion went on, and its close found the question still unsettled. Again the aged bishop appealed to the members, and again they came back—or at least enough of them to form a quorum. The result was one which deserves to stand on record. In spite of the Court of Appeal, in spite of the serious strain which the funds of the Church must inevitably suffer, those poor clergy and church officers decided that the diocese should pay the tax. There was no necessity to pay it, most of them could ill afford the loss, but it seemed the right thing to do, and the bishop had asked them to do it.

For the moment everything seemed settled, and settled as the bishop wished. But the trustees determined to save the diocese from the consequences of its heroic action. Armed with legal opinions from eminent counsel in other parts of the colony, they declined to obey the directions of synod on the ground that such an expenditure was actually illegal. Here was a new difficulty and one which made the last year of Bishop Harper's episcopate little else than a year of synods. No less than four sessions were held in this year (1889), and one of these lasted for a month (May 21st to June 21st). In a three days' session in March the synod rescinded its resolutions of the previous year, and by a substantial majority agreed to introduce a bill into Parliament which should

empower the trustees to pay the arrears of tax but nothing more. Still the trustees were obdurate, and refused to act upon the recommendation of synod. Again and again the matter was brought forward, but, at the end of the year unanimity seemed as far off as ever. At last the trustees themselves became convinced of the practical difficulties in the way of compelling the coupon-holders to pay the tax. The final act in this strange drama was not concluded till Bishop Harper had retired from the scene, but immediately after the appointment of his successor a special session of synod was summoned (June 1890) which in two days settled the long-vexed question with complete unanimity and on the lines laid down by Bishop Harper from the first. The diocese went to the expense of obtaining an Act of Parliament which empowered it to tax itself for the benefit of English creditors. Sentiment and justice were alike satisfied, and the memory of the long dispute has well-nigh faded from the minds of those whose feelings it once stirred so fiercely.

Apart, however, from the property tax dispute, the closing years of the bishop's term of office were years of peaceful activity and beneficent influence. In spite of his great age, he was able to pay his regular visits to all parts of the diocese with unfailing regularity. The only point in which his physical powers failed was his hearing. As years went by, more and more committee work was called for, and it was

in this he felt his deafness most. "Business at committees" (he wrote in 1888) "is carried on chiefly in a conversational tone, and unless the speaker is near at hand and looking me full in the face, I may hear a voice but without understanding the meaning of it. As to travelling and letter-writing, and taking services and holding confirmations—this at present I feel quite equal to."

It might have been thought that the failure of his powers of hearing would have disqualified him from presiding over large assemblies like the General or Diocesan Synods. This, however, was not the case. His secretary (Rev. F. Knowles) conveyed to his ear, through a tube, the gist of every speech that was made, and when a joke had to be thus transmitted members used to watch with amused expectation for the smile which rarely failed to appear upon the old man's face. Occasionally indeed the working of this arrangement was at fault, and once when appealed to on a point of order he gave a ruling which everyone immediately recognised to be due to a misunderstanding of the question. A moment more, and both sides had tacitly agreed to drop the point altogether, out of regard for the bishop's feelings. But in this and other matters the universal reverence in which he was held more than supplied the place of the quickness and adaptiveness of youth.

Still this state of things could not last for ever. In 1887 the Bishop announced to the

synod that he intended to retire at the end of the following year. Legal difficulties interposed to prevent the accomplishment of this project, and it was not till August 10th, 1889, that he actually resigned his see—the resignation to take effect on March 31st, 1890. But right up to the latter date he worked with all his old diligence and regularity. In 1888 he was called upon to consecrate a cathedral church at Auckland (Bishop Cowie being absent at the Lambeth Conference). On his return he wrote, “I was in Auckland one week—Monday, September 24th, to Monday, October 1st—and found ample employment. A parish gathering, with address from parishioners and reply, lay readers’ gathering, with address from myself, Confirmation, ordination of two priests, address from working men, with a reply, and consecration of cathedral church with sermon. The weather was bright and cool for Auckland and I was not over-fatigued.”

Yet at this time he was over eighty-six years old!

His last year (1889) was a particularly busy one. Besides the numerous sessions of the diocesan synod already referred to, he presided at his last General Synod in February. This synod was held in Dunedin, and here Bishop Hadfield (of Wellington) was elected to succeed him in the primacy, though he himself did not resign the office till September 5th.

In April he paid his farewell visit to the West Coast. He was accompanied by one of

his grandsons, and on his arrival at Kumara wrote the following account of the work which lay before him :—

"I came here on Wednesday last with W. Cox, for the last time, I suppose, and shall hold confirmations in this township, Stafford, Hokitika, and Ross, besides services at Goldsbrough, Rimu, and Kanieri, and must bring them all within the few days ending Palm Sunday My journey hither was accomplished in the two days, in spite of some damage done to the roads this side of the pass by heavy floods, which necessitated a walk of about a mile."

In almost all of the townships thus visited, as well as in those of Canterbury, and especially of South Canterbury, the bishop received addresses recording affectionate regrets at the thought of his approaching retirement. A similar expression of opinion was embodied by the diocesan synod in a resolution moved by the Hon. H. B. Gresson. In reply the bishop alluded to his increasing deafness as the chief reason which had induced him to resign. There was another consideration, however, which had led him to take that step. "I feel that I have not the gifts and powers which are necessary for the effective carrying on of the church. I came out here, at a time of comparative peace, as an English clergyman knowing what was required and able to carry out those requirements. But times have changed. Under the present difficulties you want persons of

greater powers and greater gifts to carry out the real work of the Church here, and to secure the true co-operation of the laity." These modest words showed how the aged bishop realised the importance of the changes which were impending, and had already, indeed, begun. He had met and overcome the difficulties of the colony's early days, but he was leaving to his successor other difficulties even harder to surmount. Under his rule the whole diocese had been supplied with churches and parsonages ; the number of clergy had grown from 10 to 60 ; the outward agencies were abundantly provided. But the democracy which was installed in office in 1890, the year of the bishop's retirement, stood outside the old religious organisation, and he felt himself unequal to the leadership amidst such new conditions.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
and he would yield without vexation or
complaint to new men and new methods.

It is, indeed, somewhat strange to reflect that Canterbury—conservative and ecclesiastical Canterbury—should have taken the leading part in giving to New Zealand its female franchise, and its socialistic labour legislation. The authors or principal supporters of these measures were the Hon. Sir John Hall, and the Hon. W. P. Reeves—both of them men belonging to the original pilgrim element of the settlement, and more or less

closely associated with the bishop. He himself was not one to oppose anything that might be for the good of the people as a whole, yet he had no great faith in legislation of a novel and venturesome kind. His ideal was *character*—character formed and moulded on the old catechism traditions of duty to God and man. It may be, however, that he himself had done as much as anyone to make possible such a development of democratic legislation as took place in the years which followed his retirement from office. At any-rate, he had the respect of the people at large in no common measure. "We may not come to church much," said a citizen of Christchurch, "but it does us good to see the old man walking down the street." And no one was cheered more loudly than he when the crowds gathered to celebrate the jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887. The popular verdict was well summed up by the anonymous writer of some singularly clever verses, entitled "A Sermon to the Bishops," which appeared at Dunedin during the last General Synod over which Dr. Harper presided.

In the earlier part of this "Sermon" many a shrewd hit was made at the weak points of the other prelates, but when the primate's turn came, the satirical tone was dropped, and the last verse ran thus :—

"And thou, head shepherd, venerable pastor,
Ere long to hang thy crook upon the wall,
A life well spent in service of thy Master
Has made thee ready for the Master's call.
Thy faithful stewardship this guerdon brings ;
‘Be thou the ruler over many things.’"

CHAPTER XII.

PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

"Thou hadst *one* aim, *one* business, *one* desire ;
Else wert thou long since numbered with the dead !
Else hadst thou spent, like other men, thy fire !"

—M. Arnold.

IN the early days of the colony it was sometimes charged against Canterbury by North Island critics that its creed consisted of but three articles—the scab, the land-fund, and the bishop. Of the three objects which thus bulked most largely in the public mind, the scab was gradually banished by persistent effort, the land-fund was lost at the abolition of the provinces, but the bishop still lived on and retained to the end of his life the trust and veneration of his people.

What was the secret of Bishop Harper's popularity? He was not a brilliant orator, nor a fiery preacher, nor a great statesman, nor an original thinker. His life was uniform in its quiet regularity, his manners were unassuming, not to say reserved. Perhaps the following extract from a book already quoted may afford a clue to the secret of his influence. The scene is that of an up-country service in the seventies.

"The little church to which his lordship came was within a mile of us, and though all in it was not quite as it may be by and by, yet those who came to it then lacked too many

things to criticise too closely what they gained ; and his lordship wore his robes with dignity, and a good man will beckon his people after him, even though his raiment *be* somewhat ruffled in his duty : so the settlers heard him gladly, and said of him what, for a moment, may sound hardly well to say ; still, it is true, and has a meaning beyond the words.

"This is what they said of the Bishop, when at sunset he had bid them Good-bye ; they said, *There is no mistake about Bishop Harper.*

Is there any bishop anywhere who would be offended, or think himself disparaged, if this, heartily, were said of him ?"¹

There was no mistake about Bishop Harper. In church or in the saddle, at home or abroad, he was always the bishop, always the high-bred gentleman, always the simple Christian, always the genuine man. His outward garb, may be taken as an index to his inner life. Beyond the putting on and off of his vestments for worship, no one ever saw any change in his appearance. Even on ship-board he wore his full episcopal costume, and he was "the man with the hat" among the miners and road-makers of Westland. But he could never have passed unnoticed even in disguise—his look, his manner and his speech would soon have betrayed his character and his calling.

This unity of deportment and of character is, perhaps, the chief feature in the Bishop's

¹ "Crusts," p. 29.

personality. The picture of such a life must necessarily be lacking in the dramatic surprises and many-sided interests which are afforded by the careers of a Wilberforce or a Magee. In its depth and singleness of purpose it rather resembles that of the saintly Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man.

During the thirty-seven years of his residence in New Zealand, Bishop Harper only twice travelled beyond its limits—each time in order to attend a Lambeth Conference. His first visit has been already mentioned. The second visit was much shorter, but through his very anxiety to make a quick return to his diocese he was enabled to see something of foreign countries. Leaving Auckland on May 1st, 1878, with Mr and Mrs Acland, he had a few hours at Honolulu with Bishop Willis, and arrived at San Francisco to hear the sad tidings of the death of his old friend Bishop Selwyn, whom he had been hoping to see once more. At Chicago he diverged from the direct route in order to visit Niagara, Toronto, and Montreal, but was soon in New York, where he celebrated the Holy Communion on Whit-Sunday. A few hours before sailing on Whit-Tuesday he took part in the consecration of Bishop Seymour of Springfield. Landing at Liverpool on June 22nd, he was almost immediately engaged in the work of the Conference, the formal opening of which took place on the 29th. August and September were spent in visits to old friends and parishioners, and on

October 11th, he left England for the last time. Choosing the Suez route in order to save time, he was able to see something of Paris and Nîmes before joining the P. and O. boat at Marseilles. At Colombo he went on shore with Bishop Copleston, and with the aid of an interpreter gave an address at a Cingalese service. On November 28th he landed at Albany for a few hours, but saw nothing of Melbourne, save a few glimpses from the sea, for on his arrival in the port at 4 a.m. on December 5th, he and his party were immediately transhipped to the New Zealand steamer. His only visit to Australia was thus a disappointing one. He reached Christchurch at 8.30 a.m. on December 11th, just in time to take part in the Christ's College Commemoration which began at 11 on the same day, and in the second service held within the Cathedral walls, on the Anniversary five days later.

He never left the colony again, for he felt himself too old to attend the Conference of 1888. Within New Zealand he still travelled to the General Synod meetings which were held every three years in the different cities, but he never took a journey merely for pleasure's sake. His short and rare holidays were generally spent at the homes of his sons or daughters—particularly at Mount Peel or Orari Gorge.

It is difficult, indeed, to say in what way Bishop Harper found his recreation. He had no hobbies and seemed to need no amusements.

His health was always good, and he found enjoyment in his work. He invariably rose at six in the morning, and, with no other refreshment than a glass of cold water, engaged in private devotion and study till it was time to attend matins. Except when absent from home, he never failed to be present at this service, either at the College Chapel or (in his later years) at the Cathedral. He was generally in his place at evensong also, for he appreciated to the full the regular daily offices.

He was noted for his punctuality. He had always at least ten minutes to spare before an engagement, and often utilised the waiting moments by reading. His letters were always answered with promptness, and though not a voluminous correspondent, he never wrote a letter which was not well considered and carefully expressed.

In money matters he was less methodical. Scrupulously exact with money belonging to others, he was generous to an extreme with his own. His episcopal income gradually rose from £600 to £1000, but he put nothing by. He gave Mrs Harper, who was an excellent manager, an allowance for house-keeping expenses, and the rest went in various charitable directions—most of them secret ones. To an appeal from a distressed clergyman or a friend in difficulties, his usual response was a cheque for £10.

Simplicity and regularity being the predominating characteristics of his nature, it is

not surprising to find that he had no particular inclination to any kind of artistic pursuit. There are few poetical touches in any of his writings. Such an entry as the following shows that he was by no means wanting in susceptibility to poetical impressions, but it is almost the only specimen of its kind in the whole of his journals. The reference is to the funeral of a daughter-in-law in 1862. "Quiet warm evening—sombre clouds with bright rays of sunlight on the hills—a funeral evening, solemn and gloomy, but cheerful withal—sorrowful, yet rejoicing." His reading lay chiefly in the regions of Anglican theology of the more classic and sober kind, but he revelled in a new book, and did not disdain a good novel. One of the favourite works of his later years was Professor Milligan's book on "The Resurrection of our Lord."

The old-fashioned strictness and dignity of his own habits was usually mellowed by a genial tolerance of the freer ways of others. He was fond of children and preserved a certain youthfulness of mind even to the last. In his early days he had been a good cricketer, and in January, 1893, (when he had entered his ninetieth year) he took bat in hand once more for a game with one of his great-grand-children at Mount Peel. The following story (which belongs to his middle life) is characteristic. In the course of his pastoral visiting at Hokitika he came to a rough shanty, where was a little girl all alone and in a state of great trouble

because the fire would not burn. "Let me help you," said the Bishop, and kneeling down upon the hearth, he coaxed the smouldering wood into a flame. His own appearance, even after he had reached his eightieth year, was so suggestive of youth that it formed the subject of a public comment by the then Governor of New Zealand, Sir William Jervis, who was being entertained at a banquet on the occasion of his first visit to Christchurch. When his health was being drunk, the band played, "The Old English Gentleman." His Excellency in responding demurred to the insinuation of old age. "Why here is your Primate," he pleasantly added, "he is twenty years older than I am, and *he is a young man yet.*"

In his family Bishop Harper was indeed highly favoured. Nearly all his sons settled in Canterbury, and his six daughters were all happily married. Besides the son (Paul) who was lost at sea in 1863, the only death was that of a younger son, Herbert, on September 7th, 1869. The news was communicated to the father at Lyttelton, two days later, on his arrival from the Peninsula, but it was not unexpected, for the illness had been a long one. With these exceptions the family showed nothing but rapid increase.

On December 12th, 1879, the Bishop and Mrs Harper celebrated their Golden Wedding, and gathered round them on that occasion no fewer than sixty-nine children and grandchildren.

This was one of the red-letter days of the Bishop's life. The proceedings commenced with a celebration of the Holy Communion in the College Chapel, at which his two clerical sons officiated—Archdeacon Harper, of Timaru, and the Rev. Walter Harper, then Vicar of Ellesmere. A thank-offering of £39 was collected, and the money was expended in the purchase of a silver-gilt alms dish for the Cathedral. This piece of plate bears on its under side the inscription—"The twenty-two sons and daughters² and sixty grand-children of the Most Reverend the Bishop of Christchurch, Primate of the Church of the Province of New Zealand, with their friends, gave me, on the fiftieth anniversary of his wedding-day, in token of gratitude to Almighty God, for use in the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Christchurch, N.Z."

In the afternoon a reception was held in the garden of Bishops-court, at which about 500 friends attended. The presents included an illuminated address from the Presbyterian ministers of the city, and a silver-gilt tea-service from the ladies of the diocese. The summer day was everything that could be desired, and everyone bore away the happiest remembrances.

For some years it seemed as though there might be a Diamond Wedding also at Bishops-court. This, however, was not to be, for on the

² This includes six sons-in-law (the Hon. J. B. A. Acland, and Messrs. C. J. Tripp, C. Blakiston, T. J. Maling, C. P. Cox, and T. Douglas) and four daughters-in-law, viz : Mrs. Leonard Harper, Mrs. Charles Harper, Mrs. George Harper, and Mrs. Walter Harper.

sixtieth anniversary of his marriage the Bishop found himself alone. In 1886 Mrs Harper's health gave way, and for two years she was a confirmed invalid. One of her most pleasurable experiences during this period was at the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887. Sitting up in her bed, she could hear the cheers with which her husband was greeted in Hagley Park, and on his return home she could watch the carriage with its four horses and its escort of red-coated cavalry. In the following year her strength failed rapidly, and she passed peacefully away, about mid-night on June 10th, 1888. She was buried by the side of her son Herbert. The day of the funeral was one of those warm, bright winter days for which the climate is renowned, and all sections of the community came forward to do honour to one who had been a leading figure in the social life of the early days, and whose extensive charities, though dispensed with secrecy, had raised up friends in all classes. Her memory is kept alive by a window erected by the Bishop in the north aisle of the Cathedral. The figures of Nathaniel and of Dorcas are expressive of her unostentatious benevolence, while the arms of the see of Winchester recall the place of her birth. Her name was already associated with various objects in the Cathedral, for the many handsome service-books and the stately eagle lectern were her gifts.

Belonging rather to his private than to his public life was the Bishop's work among the sick and suffering. The pastoral instinct which

manifested itself so strongly at Eton as well as at Mortimer, was never crushed beneath the pressure of his larger duties, and was, if possible, intensified as life drew to a close. He was well over eighty when, on his return from a railway journey on a winter night, he found a request to visit a young married lady who was dying of consumption. He could not go that night, but at six o'clock next morning he started off on foot across the Park, amidst falling snow, and reached the house only to find that death had been beforehand. Though unable to do anything for the departed, his words of consolation so wrought on the bereaved mother that she was saved from an entire disbelief in Christianity.

During these same years, while on a visit to a country parish in very stormy weather, he was prevailed upon by the vicar not to attempt the drive to a distant church at which he was expected to preach. He therefore stayed at the vicarage, but after a time his hostess missed him, and fearing that some accident had befallen him, searched high and low throughout the house. At last she found him in the empty church close by. He was engaged in intercession, and his whole soul seemed to go out in fervent utterance. It was not often that the veil was lifted which lay upon the Bishop's inner life, but no one to whom a glimpse was granted was left unimpressed.

Glimpses are all that this chapter can attempt to give, for over the greater part of that inner life the veil remains.

CHAPTER XIII.

CLOSING YEARS AND DEATH.

"Father in God."

His pale presentment lies

Within the hallowed Fane he loved so well.
Men come and go—the foolish and the wise,
Strangers, and those who loved him—

These can tell

How well the name befitting. Filled was he
With God's own grace, large-hearted charity,
The love that knows no evil, and will last
When all the things of earth are overpast."

—(*By an Early Settler*).

WHEN Bishop Harper laid down his office in 1890, he had still an amount of vigour very rare for a man of eighty-six years. He had nearly four years yet to live, and those years were by no means idle ones. He still occupied Bishopscourt, and as the partner of his life had passed away, one of his daughters, with her family, now lived with him and tended him in the gradually increasing infirmities of old age. No provision had originally been made in the diocesan trust-deeds for any pension to a retiring bishop, possibly because at the time when they were drafted such a contingency had never occurred to anyone's mind. But the bishopric estate was able by this time to bear a double charge, and when the bishop announced his intention of resigning, a bill was promoted in the colonial legislature by Sir John Hall, which should permit of the proceeds being so

applied. The Houses, though not as a rule over-ready to fall in with ecclesiastical petitions, offered no opposition to a measure which touched the well-being of the aged bishop. The result was that he enjoyed until his death a yearly pension of £600, and was able to keep up the modest household to which he had been accustomed without trenching to any great extent upon his charitable outlay.

On May 1st, 1890, he had the great satisfaction of taking part in the consecration of his successor, the Right Revd. Churchill Julius, formerly Archdeacon of Ballarat. The chief part in this solemn service naturally devolved upon the new Primate, but Bishop Harper joined with the Bishops of Nelson, Dunedin and Waiapu, in the laying on of hands.

On the following day he presided at the luncheon which was held in the Provincial Council Chamber, and, in words which sounded strange coming from his lips, proposed the toast of "His Lordship the Bishop of Christchurch." In doing so he remarked :

"There is a great peculiarity in having to propose this toast, and I am thankful that I have had the opportunity of doing so. The more especially am I thankful, because my case is an unusual one—in fact, so far as I know of the history of the Church, I do not know one other Bishop who has retired who has had the opportunity, and who has been able, to lay his hands on his successor, as it was my privilege to do yesterday."



Photo by Whedon

His own health was proposed by the Primate and seconded by Mr. C. Whitefoord, R.M., both of whom spoke in the highest terms of his past work, and drew from him a modest disclaimer :— “The Primate has gone through greater hardships than I have. What I had to undertake was merely travelling over unknown tracks and encountering rivers.” He cheerfully rendered the new bishop all the aid in his power, but was careful even to punctiliousness never to do anything which might even seem to savour of interference. The old episcopal chair was brought from St. Michael’s and placed on the north side of the Cathedral sanctuary, opposite the newer throne, and in this humbler seat the old man took his place, day by day, and Sunday by Sunday, although his deafness was such that no word of sermon or lesson could ever be heard by him. Till within a month of his death he always celebrated the Holy Communion at 8 a.m. on Sundays ; occasionally he was prevailed upon to preach, and every now and then he would be called upon to baptise one of his great-grand-children, whose number was now increasing fast. During these last years he thus received into Christ’s flock his hundredth descendant.

But, more than any outward act, the mere sight of the old bishop exerted a spiritualising influence. His countenance, always handsome and kindly, now recalled the description given of Moses, for “the skin of his face shone”

with the spiritual light within. No portion perhaps of the new bishop's first sermon struck home quite so deep as his touching reference to his predecessor: "Almost deaf to earth's voices, he can almost hear the Voice that cries, 'Servant of God, well done; well hast thou fought the bitter fight.'" As long as Bishop Harper's peaceful face and venerable form were seen in church or street the other world seemed not so very "far off" even to those whose immediate vision was less keen and sure.

Almost to the end he continued his life-long habit of early rising, and also his habit of diligent study. He gave much attention during this period to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he studied with the help of the Commentary which Dr. Westcott had just published. Those who are familiar with this erudite and massive work will be able to realise what such study meant in the case of a man nearing his ninetieth year. Bishop Harper's copy shows the marks of careful reading, and even the index has been made more complete by additional insertions traced in a somewhat wavering but clear and decided hand. This was study for his own soul's sake, but he also laboured at the Old Testament in connection with a class which he held twice a week for the girls in one of the boarding-schools of the city. Much of his time was given to the sick, especially any whom he had known in earlier life. He kept up a keen interest in passing events, and

seemed almost to have discovered the secret of perpetual youth.

Still, the end was bound to come, and on one summer afternoon in 1893 the tolling of the great bell of the Cathedral announced to the citizens of Christchurch that "the old bishop" had at length passed away. The news came to most of them with a shock, for they had hardly had time to notice that his regular appearances among them had ceased. On Sunday, December 3rd, he had celebrated the Holy Communion as usual, and even on the 17th he had been present at the service. On that occasion the difficulty of walking had caused him to arrive a little late, and he had found himself unable to ascend the chancel steps. His son (the present Dean) had therefore administered the sacred elements to him while kneeling in the nave. But even then he had insisted on walking back to Bishopscourt —a distance of nearly a mile. In fact, about a month before the end he had written to an English friend : "I am surprised at the amount of vitality which, notwithstanding my advanced age and present infirmities, I still retain. I have much cause for thankfulness, and I hope I am sincerely thankful and prepared to meet the ordering of the wise and loving Disposer of all things." That ordering was, indeed, such as he would have wished. His final illness (which was, in fact, the only illness of his long life) was only of six days duration, and up to the hour of his death he retained

full possession of his faculties. He passed peacefully and quietly away surrounded by several members of his family who had had time to gather to his bedside. His death took place on December 28th, 1893, and had he lived ten days longer he would have completed his ninetieth year.

What death was to him may perhaps be gathered from a sermon which he himself had preached in the Cathedral on All Saints' Day, 1882. After describing the blessed dead as those

“Who in the mountain grots of Eden lie
And hear the fourfold river as it murmurs by”

lines which convey only a sense of rest and quietude—he yet went on to avow his belief that “among the works of those who are at rest is the work of intercession, through the Priesthood of our Divine Redeemer, on behalf of those whom they have left behind on earth. We are not, indeed, told (he continued) that they have any distinct knowledge of what is passing in this world; but we are surely not wrong in believing that, though removed from it, they still retain a recollection of those in it in whose spiritual welfare they were deeply interested, as well as in the progress of redemptive love throughout the world. And if so, must we not believe that they continue to do, in their place of rest, what they did when they were ‘fellow travellers between life and death’ with God’s servants upon earth?”

How far the reality of that other world corresponds with human expectations not even the greatest and wisest of men can tell us with absolute certainty. But at least the extract we have given shows us what were the aged bishop's expectations up to the hour of passing from the region of faith to that of sight, and if the actual sight was other than he had looked for, we may assuredly believe that it was so only because it was more glorious than even his faith had pictured.

The funeral was at first arranged for the last day of the year, but as this fell upon a Sunday, the country clergy begged for its postponement to the day following, in order that they might be able to pay their last tribute of reverence to their old leader. This request was granted, but on Sunday the body was conveyed to the Cathedral, and there lay in state during the afternoon. More than 2,500 persons were thus enabled to obtain a last look at the revered form. On Monday, January 1st, 1894, the actual interment took place. New Year's Day is a general holiday in New Zealand, and there was doubtless some incongruity between the solemn proceedings in the Cathedral and the holiday-keeping of those in the community who were either too young or else had too lately arrived to realise the loss which filled the hearts of the older men and women. But the bishop had always sympathised with the innocent enjoyments of the people, and he

would certainly have been the last to feel any annoyance on this occasion. As it was, all classes in the community, from his Excellency the Governor of New Zealand downwards, united to do honour to his memory, either by attending in person or by sending representatives. The Bishops of Christchurch and Dunedin took the chief part in the burial service, but recognition was made of the labours of the elder clergy of the diocese, Canon Stack reading the lesson, and Archdeacons Lingard and Cholmondeley assisting at the grave. The Cathedral Choir added much to the solemnity of the proceedings by singing the hymns "The Saints of God," "Jesus Lives," and "Now the Labourer's Task is o'er." The body was laid in the old Church Cemetery, in the plot which already contained the remains of the Bishop's wife and of their son Herbert. So many prelates have returned to England after resignation of their sees abroad that the remark has been made, with some measure of truth,— "What the Colonial Church needs is a few bishops' graves." This is a need which the diocese of Christchurch has not to deplore. Canterbury Churchmen can never look upon the English Church as an exotic while they can visit that quiet spot upon the banks of the Avon where, among the various monuments which mark the burial places of the founders of their colony, stands the simple headstone which contains the names of their first bishop and his wife.

The question of a memorial was bound to occupy the thoughts of Churchmen during the days and weeks which followed the Bishop's death. Some difficulty, however, was found in arriving at a unanimous decision as to the form which the memorial should take. The first suggestion was that the cathedral should be completed. This would, indeed, have been an appropriate and worthy monument, but the project was reluctantly abandoned, owing to the heavy cost. At last a general agreement was arrived at in favour of a cenotaph in the cathedral. The change need not be regretted. The building is now (1903) almost complete, but it would be for ever poorer without the beautiful marble figure of the departed bishop which was after some delay placed in the south aisle. The work was executed by Mr Williamson, of Esher, private sculptor to her late Majesty Queen Victoria, the cost (£600) being met by public subscription. The artist has been entirely successful in catching the bishop's expression, and the details of the robes are realistically pourtrayed. In England such monuments are of course numerous, but in New Zealand there is as yet no other like it, and it cannot fail to convey to future generations something of the personality and character of the late bishop. The monument of his friend Bishop Selwyn is placed in the more stately pile of Lichfield, but it is enclosed in a mortuary chapel which perhaps suggests an entire cessation of all

activity beyond this brief life. Bishop Harper's cenotaph is shut off by no iron grille from the people and the work amidst which he had lived his life. The face is towards the unfinished portion of the church he had founded, as if his thoughts were still of work that had to be brought to completion.

While the public mind was still undecided as to the form which the general memorial should take, and the multiplicity of schemes gave rise to a fear lest the whole design might fail, a few of the old College boys met together and determined that the School should have its own memorial. The result has been that the east window in the school chapel is filled with stained glass in memory of its first Warden. The window consists of five lights, and in the centre one is inserted a medallion containing an excellent likeness of the bishop as he appeared some thirty years before his death.

But it was not only in his own diocese that Bishop Harper was remembered. Long as was the period which had elapsed since he left Eton—no less than fifty-three years—he had not been forgotten by his old friends and pupils. When the news of his death reached England an influential committee was formed of those who wished to perpetuate his memory. It consisted of the Rev. J. J. Hornby (Provost of Eton), the Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Durnford), Bishop Abraham, Mr Goldwin Smith, and many

others. The result was that a handsome bronze tablet was placed (November 3rd, 1894) on the wall of the porch to the south-west door of the ante-chapel at Eton College. The inscription, written by Dr. Hornby, is an admirable summary of the Bishop's life, and a just appreciation of his influence upon others. It runs as follows :—

HENRICUS J C HARPER STP

Olim in hoc Collegio Clericus Conducticius
 Publicas preces coram juventute Etonensi ita voce praeibat
 Ut viri simplicitatem gravitatem candorem nemo non agnosceret
 Omnes fere ad verecundiam et pietatem sensim incitarentur
 Idem sive Pastoris officio inter pauperes fungeretur
 Sive pueros Etonensibus adnumerandos litteris informaret
 Quaecunque vera sunt quaecunque justa quaecunque sancta
 quaecunque amabilia
 Non praeceptis magis edocuit quam vita illustravit
 Postea ad opus et ministerium Episcopale in Novam Zelandiam
 vocatus
 Et in Cathedram Metropolitanam ibidem evectus
 Ita aliis praeesse voluit ut omnibus inserviret
 Otii et oblectationis negligens in officiis indefessus
 Laboribus et periculis per invia locorum sustinendis provecta
 aetate non impar
 Denique senex senectutis donis feliciter ornatus
 Ingenio placido miti sapientia animo amoris Christiani pleno
 Concordiae et benevolentiae inter omnes fautor
 Disciplinae virilis suo exemplo suasor
 Integra valetudine prope ad extremum diem sacris officiis incubuit
 Obiit a d Vtum Kal Jan AD MDCCXCIV AET LXXXIX

In memoriam viri optimi et dilectissimi nonnulli ex discipulis
 Aliisque amore et desiderio conjunctis hanc tabellam ponendam
 curaverunt
 MDCCXCIV.

It may be translated thus :—

HENRY J. C. HARPER, D.D.,

Formerly Conduct in this College,

Used to render the common prayers in such a manner

That no one could fail to recognise his simplicity, gravity, and singleness
of heart.

As parish priest he so laboured among the poor
and among the boys whom he prepared for Eton
as to show forth in his life as well as in his words
whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just,
whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are to be loved.

Called afterwards to the work of a Bishop in New Zealand
and raised to the dignity of Primate there,

his aim was to govern others by becoming the servant of all.

Forgetful of ease and pleasure, he never wearied of duty,
and even in advancing age proved himself equal to the
endurance of toils and dangers in travelling through pathless wilds.

Old age adorned him with its happiest gifts—

Calmness of mind, gentleness of wisdom, and a soul filled with
Christian love.

By his exhortations he brought others into harmony and good-will,
and by his example he encouraged them to a manly performance of duty.

With unabated vigour he took part almost to the last in the sacred
offices of the Church,

and died on December 28th, 1893, at the age of 89.

Bound together by affection and esteem for this excellent and much
loved man, some of his pupils and other friends have joined in erecting
this tablet to his memory.

Pioneers in new countries often obtain lasting
notoriety through their names becoming at-
tached to places or natural objects. But fame
of this kind is somewhat capricious, and Bishop
Harper reached New Zealand almost too late
to catch its favours. In this respect he was not
so fortunate as his friend Bishop Selwyn, for it
is remarkable that in Canterbury itself—a place

never very closely associated with Selwyn's labours—his name is borne by an important county, a well-known river, and a small station on the Great Southern Railway. But to find the name of Canterbury's first Bishop a somewhat careful search is needed. This reveals a Mount Harper and a Harper River¹ in the main Alpine range, a Harper's Pass between Nelson and Westland (usually known, however, as the Hurunui Saddle), and a street in the borough of Sydenham, which adjoins the city of Christchurch on its southern side. The story of this is worth notice. The main streets in Sydenham are merely prolongations of those in the city, and consequently bear the same names which (as before explained) are those of Anglican dioceses. But two streets were afterwards formed between and parallel to certain of the others ; for these fresh names had to be found, and the names chosen were those of Selwyn and Harper. Later on in the borough's history, when still new streets had sprung up, a literary fashion had set in, so now Harper street finds itself in company not only with Durham and Montreal streets, but with others named after Wordsworth, Coleridge, Huxley, and John Stuart Mill. In the rapid growth of a colonial town these nomenclature periods are not devoid of interest. Their sequence forms a companion study to that of the styles of

¹ Mount Harper is the highest point (6,015 ft.) in the Harper Range on the north bank of the Upper Rangitata. The Harper River flows into the Wilberforce, a river named after the celebrated Bishop of Oxford, under whom Dr. Harper had served when at Mortimer.

building, as these advance from sod to wood, and from wood to brick or stone. In this particular case the history of the names is no bad reflection of that of the minds of the colonists.

But outward memorials, whatever may be their form, and however great their number, can give but an adequate idea of the real character and influence of such an one as Bishop Harper. In all his work the man was felt to be greater than the bishop, and, happily, full justice was done to his greatness as a man in the journalistic tributes which were paid him at his death. The English *Guardian* inserted letters from two of his old episcopal colleagues, Bishops Abraham and John Selwyn, as well as from a layman (Mr A. Mills) who had visited New Zealand some twelve years before. The last-named referred to the "marvellous energy, self-denial, and courage" which had characterised the earlier years of his episcopate, "all the more remarkable in a man wholly free from the conceit and ambition which has sometimes fired the zeal of mountain climbers and explorers." Bishop Selwyn's letter concludes thus:—

"To myself, as to many hundreds of others in New Zealand, that calm, gentle, loving life is an abiding memory, which has told, and I trust will tell, not so much by any striking dominant force observable in it, but by the calm and peace which it shed around it—a life which was lived throughout its long extent for duty, and

which was strong, because it was full of the meekness and gentleness of Christ."

Bishop Abraham's memory went back, of course, to an earlier period. He had known Bishop Harper at Eton, and had afterwards met him at various synods in New Zealand. "From first to last," (he writes) "I can bear witness to the sound judgment, the conscientious, painstaking industry, and the good sense he never failed to display ; but, above all, I saw then, and feel now, that the secret of his influence on all such public occasions was his *admirable temper*. I never saw him ruffled or impatient. . . . 'Good temper' in the management of affairs I saw exemplified in Bishop Harper, and the sight was a liberal education. This I witnessed myself, but there was no one in New Zealand who did not hear of his unaffected simplicity, his frankness, his steady devotion to duty, his journeys by flood and field, which won the hearts of all the clergy, as well as of the runholders and the farmers, the labourers and the tradesmen, in all parts of his large diocese, to travel over which was accompanied by no small risks and much fatigue, but to him was a source of happiness, as it was an untold blessing for thousands of young and old for the thirty-three years of his noble Episcopate."

These testimonies are valuable as coming from a distance and from men who could not possibly be accused of limited ideas or local partisanship. Their studied moderation of

language may seem to some more weighty on this account than the obituary notices which appeared in the colonial papers. But these, too, have a right to be heard. Many a man has seemed a hero to those who saw him but seldom, and then only on great occasions, who yet has failed to win the love and devotion of those among whom he lived habitually. The praise of a neighbour is often the most grudgingly given. Nor, on the other hand, should it be forgotten that the enthusiasm which is kindled in his friends by the exploits of a man's prime is apt to die down in his declining years. Bishop Harper had lived quite long enough for this to happen in his case if it were going to happen at all. Time's perspective had already lent its aid to the formation of a truthful estimate of his life's work ; the dust had long disappeared from the atmosphere of his clear eventide. We therefore quote from a northern journal the following appreciation which appeared at the time of his death. It will serve as a summary of the whole narrative which this volume has endeavoured to present.

"The country was in those days a wilderness. Lyttelton was the chief town ; Christchurch was little better than a straggling collection of huts ; a few farms were flourishing about Riccarton, Papanui, and Kaiapoi ; the pioneer squatters had spread over the land, founding homesteads at rare intervals. The flock required Apostolic treatment, and got it from its Bishop. His work was arduous. It comprised long journeys,

primitive accommodation, dangerous travelling by flood and field, on foot, on horseback over unbridged rivers, in small craft along the coast. The hardships were great, the dangers many, the people lukewarm, as often happens in the rush of pioneer life. How these difficulties were encountered and overcome the old settlers tell you to this day with tears in their eyes. When the goldfields were discovered on the West Coast the Bishop promptly annexed them. He crossed the Great Divide at regular intervals, he held services in the roaring mining camps, he was punctual in spite of rising rivers and muddy walks, he planted churches, he exhorted, he gave good example. All men wondered at his physical power, reverenced his piety, thanked Heaven for his example.

And so his life passed. The place grew and people multiplied, and roads improved. The bullock waggon gave way to the coach, the coach made room for the railway train, the uncertain sailing craft was superseded by the frequent, punctual, luxurious steamer; towns grew, and farm steadings became numerous; in a word, colonial life approximated to the standards of the older world. But through all the changes Bishop Harper remained the same—punctual, faithful, earnest, simple, Apostolic, doing his duty to the best of his power, single-minded as in the days of hardship and privation. When the greatest procession Canterbury ever saw passed through the streets of Christchurch on the day of the Queen's Jubilee, the venerable

figure of the Primate appeared, and the pageant at once became his ovation. Decorations, troops in martial array, trades in gala order, all were forgotten, and the crowd cheered the old man with enthusiasm so long as he remained in sight. Soon after that he took his well-earned rest. Every morning and every evening of the three succeeding years he was to be seen walking down to the Cathedral to service ; never was he missed, whatever the weather might be. Sunday often found him at some church in the vicinity of the town, preaching and doing the work of a simple priest. During the fourth year he weakened, he was seen less and less in public. At last he was confined to his room ; loving hands waited upon him, troops of friends were about him ; all waited reverently for the end. There was a private grief, sudden, bitter, and unexpected, in the latter days, but the old man bore up with the fortitude of an upright, well-disciplined mind. And so he gave the last brave example of the many brave examples he had given throughout his useful well-spent life. Then came the end, which, though not unexpected, is lamented by all New Zealand. A grand old patriarch has gone to his rest. Peace to his ashes ; honour to his memory."

One more quotation may conclude this memoir. It forms the last paragraph in a leading article of the *Lyttelton Times*. Its estimate of the Bishop's work has now stood the test of nearly ten years, and those years have done nothing to weaken its testimony.

"A great man, a great priest, a great bishop, he was the example and guiding light of generations of colonists. To him righteousness and true manliness in New Zealand owe an ineffaceable debt of gratitude."

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